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ABSTRACT

This volume, one in a series resulting from Project SPAN (Social Studies/Social Science Education: Priorities, Practices, and Needs), reviews and analyzes the current state of K-12 social studies. A major purpose of the review and analysis was to form a basis for recommendations for future directions that might be taken to improve social studies. The report contains six sections. The first section provides a broad and integrative analysis of the interrelated topics of rationales, definitions, approaches, goals, and objectives of social studies. The second section, "Curriculum Organization in Social Studies," describes the typical pattern of social studies programs from kindergarten through grade 12, stating that despite numerous variations that have occurred, the dominant pattern throughout the nation is one that was established more than 60 years ago. "Social Studies Curriculum Materials," the third section of the volume, describes the great extent to which students, teachers, administrators, and the public accept and rely on curriculum materials as essential aids to teaching, learning, and classroom management. Foremost among curriculum materials being used are textbooks. The topic of the fourth section is "Social Studies Teachers." There is general agreement that the teacher is "the central figure," the "key," or "the magic ingredient" in the learning process. The fifth section, "Instructional Practices in Social Studies," presents a detailed report on what teachers do. The last section, "Barriers to Change in Social Studies," focusing on the fact that the new social studies had relatively little impact on the schools, explores reasons for lack of change in schools. (Author/RM)

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THE CURRENT STATE OF SOCIAL STUDIES:
A REPORT OF PROJECT SPAN

By Project SPAN Staff and Consultants

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AN INTRODUCTION TO PROJECT SPAN

Project SPAN undertook the task of describing and assessing the current and recent state of social studies/social science education, of designating desired states to which social studies might or should aspire, and of shaping recommendations as to how those desired states might be approached. This has been a formidable task, increasing in difficulty as the project moved from describing the current state to envisioning desired states to framing recommendations.

In describing the current state of social studies/social science education, the project began with three coordinated studies of science education supported by the National Science Foundation during the period 1976-78: a series of case studies conducted by the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation at the University of Illinois, a national survey conducted by the Research Triangle Institute, and a survey of literature for the period 1955-75, conducted by The Ohio State University with the assistance of the Social Science Education Consortium. These three studies, using three very different but congruent methodologies, provide a wealth of information about precollege education in natural science, mathematics, and social studies/social science education. In addition to these three fruitful sources, SPAN staff and consultants reviewed hundreds of other documents bearing on social studies and, through correspondence and at conferences, sought the advice and comments of many persons throughout the nation.

With respect to the specification of desired states and of recommendations for achieving them, the basic fact of social studies education at present is that there is a great diversity of opinion, from which it is impossible to elicit consensus. There are polar positions on the most basic issues, and a range of opinion between the poles. Some feel that social studies is in need of drastic revision, others that there is little or no need for concern.

The great diversity of opinion about desired states and recommendations that exists in the literature and in the opinions of social studies educators throughout the nation, as experienced by SPAN staff members in perusing the literature, in numerous meetings and conversations, and in voluminous correspondence, was also reflected in the twelve consultants who worked with the SPAN staff throughout the project. The twelve consultants were chosen for their known contributions to social studies literature and practice, also for their representation of various social studies roles: elementary or secondary teacher, consultant or supervisor at district or state level, professional association, university teacher. They were indeed "representative"--not only of social-studies-educator roles but also of a wide range of opinions about desired states and recommendations!

Given this diversity of opinion, both in the social studies field at large and within the group of consultants, the SPAN staff (within which there were also some differences of opinion!) had to take the ultimate responsibility for formulating the statements concerning desired states and recommendations. We wish to give full credit for information and ideas we have borrowed and used--borrowed both from the consultants and from social studies educators at large. But the staff must accept final responsibility for the content of the SPAN reports.

The staff members who worked with SPAN throughout the project are Irving Morrissett, Project Director and Executive Director of the Social Science Education Consortium, Douglas Superka, Associate Project Director and Staff Associate of SSEC, and Sharryl Hawke, Staff Associate of SSEC. Bruce Tipple, a Staff Associate of SSEC, also served as a staff member during the early part of the project, as did three Teacher Associates of SSEC, Maria Rydstedt, John Zola, and William Cleveland.

Two individuals produced commissioned papers at the request of the project staff. Dana Kurfman reviewed the status of evaluation processes in social studies and made recommendations on needed changes. Hazel Hertzberg wrote an extensive review of social studies reform efforts from 1880 to 1980.

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This publication is one of a series of reports of Project SPAN.

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PREFACE

This report on the recent and current state of social studies education represents the culmination of a substantial part of the efforts of Project SPAN staff and consultants. The three NSF studies described in the "Introduction to Project SPAN" provided an excellent starting point for these analyses, as indicated by the frequent references to them. Those studies were minutely reviewed and discussed by consultants and staff. Following this, an extensive search and analysis of other relevant literature was conducted. A complete bibliography of sources used in the course of the project is included in another SPAN publication, Working Papers from Project SPAN. The broad experience of SPAN consultants and staff also provided an important part of the data base for the project.

A major purpose of this review and analysis of the current state of social studies was to form a basis for recommendations for future directions that might be taken to improve social studies. Those recommendations are contained in still another SPAN publication, The Future of Social Studies: A Report and Summary of Project SPAN.

This report contains six sections. In the first, "Rationales, Goals, and Objectives in Social Studies," Irving Morrissett and John Haas provide a broad and integrative analysis of the interrelated topics of rationales, definitions, "approaches," goals, and objectives of social studies. They argue that a rationale for social studies must take account of the nature of the individual, society, values, knowledge, and learning, and that knowledge of these entities should be integrated into the curriculum goals and objectives that form the basis of the curriculum content and methods. They point to confusion that exists about the nature of rationales and to the paucity of real rationales.

The authors next discuss definitions and the "identity crisis" of social studies and present three "approaches" to social studies, concluding that "conservative cultural continuity" is, and for a long time has been, the dominant approach. There follows a detailed discussion of the most common goals and objectives. Citizenship is the most common single goal proposed; knowledge, skills, values, and participation form the most commonly proposed goal set. Other goals are also discussed.

Problems caused by the multiplicity of new topics and rising concerns about the scope and sequence of social studies are reviewed. Finally, the authors suggest ways in which rationales, goals, and objectives can be more coherently formulated and used to improve social studies.

In the second section of the volume, "Curriculum Organization in Social Studies," James Lengel and Douglas Superka describe the typical pattern of social studies programs from kindergarten through grade 12, stating that despite numerous variations that have occurred, the dominant pattern throughout the nation is one that was established more than 60 years ago. The typical K-6 pattern is built on the "expanding environments" theme, while the curriculum in grades 7-12 consists of a pattern of U.S. history, world history, civics, and government. There is little articulation between grade levels, particularly between elementary and secondary grades. Reasons given for the persistence of the pattern described include the strength of tradition, the reinforcement of the pattern by textbook content, and the lack of a compelling alternative pattern.

John Patrick and Sharryl Hawke are the authors of "Social Studies Curriculum Materials," the third section of the volume. They describe the great extent to which students, teachers, administrators, and the public accept and rely on curriculum materials as essential aids to teaching, learning, and classroom management. Foremost among curriculum materials are textbooks, which are used in the great majority of classrooms; they are seen as cost-efficient and easy to select, order, and manage. Compared to textbooks, supplementary materials, including films, filmstrips, and workbooks, have slight use. Other than test materials, materials developed by individual teachers and local committees also are of relatively little importance.

Turning to an analysis of textbook content, the authors note that most competing texts for particular subjects and grade levels are very much alike in format, style, and content. The texts typically stress the transmission of information, avoid sensitive subjects, and, according to some content specialists, lack intellectual depth. Some notable changes have occurred in the past 20 years, particularly in the treatment of women and minorities and in the use of color and graphics. Changes in the amount of attention given to controversial topics and to variety in learning activities have been less extensive. Some of these changes are attributable, at least in part, to the curriculum materials developed by the new social studies projects. The lack of greater change and diversity in textbooks is attributed in large part to the conservative nature of the textbook development process, which is described in detail by the authors. Particularly strong conservative forces affecting publishers are the practices of the 23 states that have statewide adoptions or adoption policies.

In "Social Studies Teachers," Mary Vann Eslinger and Douglas Superka emphasize the general agreement with the proposition that the individual teacher is "the central figure," the "key," or "the magic ingredient" in the learning process. They also point to the paucity of ideas and data about why this is so and how this proposition can be used to improve education. Turning to more manageable subjects, they review a wide spectrum of data about the characteristics and perceptions of teachers. Included are demographic data related to age, sex, academic preparation, years of experience, and professional activities. These data show, among other things, the differences that typically exist between elementary and secondary teachers along these dimensions.

A review of studies of teachers' perceptions of the purposes of social studies leads the authors to conclude that elementary and secondary teachers, unlike their college-level counterparts, spend little time contemplating the goals of their activities; they are too preoccupied with problems of administration and management. A common goal is, of course, getting students to learn the material in the textbooks. Beyond this, where a common purpose can be found, it consists of socialization--in the sense of instilling acceptable classroom and school behavior, getting acceptance of the norms and values of society, and, to a lesser extent, in preparing students for successful participation in mainstream society.

Teachers' perceptions of their problems and needs are notably more precise than their perceptions of the goals of social studies. The most commonly perceived problems are students' poor reading ability and their apathy toward school. Many problems of a logistical nature also concern teachers; these include lack of time to teach their subject, lack of materials and equipment, and lack of good sources of information about new methods and materials.

Vann Eslinger and Superka also examine the problem of teacher dissatisfaction with their profession. While dissatisfaction with their role in education and in society has been common among elementary and secondary teachers in recent years--"teacher burnout" has become a common term--there is some evidence that this phenomenon is more pronounced among social studies teachers than among others.

In the fifth section of this volume, Verna Fancett and Sharryl Hawke present a detailed report on what teachers do: "Instructional Practices in Social Studies." They note that teachers teach the same subject in diverse ways, even when using the same textbook in the same school system. They report with regret, however, much less information is available on the varieties of teaching methods than on the central tendencies in teaching methods; they focus on the latter because of the greater availability of information.

Most instruction in elementary and secondary schools takes place in large groups, with relatively little use made--particularly at the secondary level--of small-group and individualized instruction. Ability grouping is fairly common in social studies, though less so than in mathematics and science instruction. A single teacher typically has responsibility for each class, with little use made of cluster or team teaching. Open space configurations seem to be more the preference of administrators than of teachers, who generally prefer the self-contained classroom. Much of teachers' time is occupied with administrative duties and the maintenance of discipline. Preparation time is generally considered to be inadequate, and the students' time on task in the classroom is substantially less than 100 percent.

Most of the time that students and teachers spend in the classroom is focused on the use of curriculum materials, particularly commercially published textbooks. The dependence on textbooks increases at the higher grade levels. Next in importance to the commercial printing press in educational technology is the school-owned "press," the duplicating machine, widely used for teacher-made worksheets and tests. Films and filmstrips are used by quite a few teachers. Overhead projectors receive somewhat less use, while other available devices--including records, audio tapes, videotapes, film loops, television, and computers--are used infrequently.

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Lecturing, or "teacher talk," is the most common mode of instruction, increasing in importance from the lower to the higher grades. Various forms of teacher-led recitation or discussion are also common. Teaching modes in most classrooms rarely, if ever, include inquiry, discovery, values education, experiential and community-based learning, simulations, programmed instruction, and contracts. Teachers decide on which teaching practices and materials to use on the basis of many influences. The importance of expectations within the school and the community accounts in large part for the lack of great diversity that exists in teaching practices.

Lee Anderson presents in the last section of the volume a generalized thesis on "Barriers to Change in Social Studies," focusing on the fact that the new social studies had relatively little impact on the schools. He describes two necessary conditions for change in social studies and argues that neither of these existed with respect to the new social studies. First, he posits that a new approach can have widespread impact only if its philosophy, curriculum materials, and instructional practices become familiar to a large number of the nation's classroom teachers. The second necessary condition is that the philosophy, curriculum materials, and instructional practices of the new approach must be compatible with the culture of the school or, lacking such compatibility, the new approach must bring about changes in the culture of schooling such that the necessary compatibility is created.

Elaborating on the first necessary condition, Anderson describes four models of educational change, none of which meets that condition. Then, borrowing from Urie Bronfenbrenner's "ecology of human development," he describes the "nested structures" within which teachers are embedded--the immediate school environment, the family and community settings that affect the teacher directly, and the broader social setting of school district, state, and nation. All of these structures as they now exist, Anderson states, militate against acceptance of the philosophy, materials, and instructional practices developed in the new social studies.

Turning to the second necessary condition, the author argues that the approach of the new social studies was not congruent with the culture of the schools and was not able to change that culture. He lists a number of assumptions about students, teachers, and schools that formed the basis of the new social studies, explaining that these assumptions were in conflict with the culture of the schools. Anderson attributes these erroneous assumptions largely to the failure of university participants in the development of the new social studies to understand that culture.

Irving Morrissett

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RATIONALES, GOALS, AND OBJECTIVES IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By Irving Morrissett and John D. Haas

Introduction and Overview

This paper deals with the very broad subject of social studies rationales, goals, and objectives as they are presented in research reports, journals and other publications of professional organizations, social studies methods textbooks, and state and local curriculum guides. It refers only tangentially to curriculum materials, which are the subject of another paper in this volume.

Two of the three NSF studies of science education (see the introduction to this volume) contain information about goals and objectives; none deal with rationales. The Illinois case studies present some goals at a very general level, sometimes alluding to goals that apply to all three areas covered by those studies--mathematics, natural science, and social science. Of particular relevance to social studies are the information about values, particularly covert or hidden values, and the commentary on the goal of socialization.

The NSF literature survey contains much more information about goals and objectives. Using "curriculum guides from states and localities, as well as a few surveys of such guides," Wiley identified knowledge, skill, and attitude objectives and arranged them in charts showing their relationship to selected "topics" and to grade levels; the charts also indicate changes in emphasis on different objectives during the period 1955-1975 (Wiley 1977, 25-41; Appendix, pp. 14-32).

This report draws on many sources in addition to the NSF studies, as indicated by the reference list. Some of these are based on survey data; most are recommendations, generalizations, and opinions of a variety of writers. A few sources are quoted frequently because of the broad and substantial work they represent and/or the attention they have received from social studies educators. The NAEP (1980) assessment, for example, represents a well-financed effort that involved literally hundreds of social studies educators. The California framework (California Department of Education 1981) is the result of many years of thoughtful effort on the part of leading educators in that state. The

Minnesota guide (Wangen 1977) has been used as the basis for many successful teachers' workshops. But whatever the sources, the generalizations and conclusions of this paper are, of course, those of its authors.

The second section of this paper, which focuses on rationales, begins with a brief discussion of the nature of goals and objectives, to provide a contrast with the topic of rationales. This is followed by a detailed description of the nature of rationales and the confusion surrounding this realm. We assert that construction of a full rationale for social studies is a demanding task which has seldom been addressed.

The third section is concerned with definitions (as distinct from rationales) of social studies. Three major arguments are made: that many alleged definitions of social studies are statements of goals; that definitions of social studies are not as disparate as is sometimes claimed; and that the "identity crisis" of the social studies is not due to disagreement about definitions so much as discouragement over the multiplicity of goals and the lack of attainment of those goals, all against the current background of low morale and esteem of education within and without the profession.

Midway between definitions of social studies and listings of goals and objectives is an area that we have called "approaches" to social studies. Each of these approaches is made up of a set of goals, beliefs, and practices that characterize the various ways in which social studies can be taught. Three major "approaches" are analyzed in the fourth section: Conservative Cultural Continuity, Process of Thinking Reflectively, and Intellectual Aspects of History and the Social Sciences. Historical origins, relationships among the approaches, and some of their offshoots are explored. While the various approaches may seldom exist in their pure forms, we believe that they can be used to characterize the major emphases of most theorists and practitioners of social studies.

The following section deals at length with the specific goals and objectives proposed for and sometimes implemented in social studies. Discussed first is the possible existence of a single "overarching" goal, with citizenship education receiving major attention. There follows a presentation of the four most-commonly-suggested goals--knowledge, skills, values, and participation. Two additional goals, not so prominently mentioned, are then discussed: the joy of learning and the role of schools as social change agents. The section concludes with examination of the problems related to the multiplicity of goals and objectives, the multiplicity of new topics that have been thrust upon social studies in recent years, diversity of aims, and integration of the topics and disciplines that make up the social studies.

The final section discusses the uses to which rationales, goals, and objectives are put and provides suggestions about their possible future uses in the improvement of social studies.

Rationales for Social Studies

Goals and Objectives

Social studies educators generally agree on the meaning of "goals" and "objectives"; the same cannot be said about the meaning of "rationale." Goals and objectives are understood to be statements of things to be achieved--usually referring to achievements of students, but sometimes referring to achievements of teachers or of other participants in the educational endeavor. Goals and objectives are sometimes listed without significant ordering or structure; more commonly, they are arranged hierarchically, from the very general to the very specific. It is usually agreed that goals are more general, objectives more specific, although there is not a sharp dividing line between the two and this distinction is not always made.

One of the most clearly structured sets of goals and objectives is that of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). The hierarchical structure of these goals and objectives is illustrated by the following selection from the very extensive array of NAEP objectives for the 1981-82 assessment of citizenship and social studies:

> III. Demonstrates an Understanding of Individual Development and the Skills Necessary to Communicate With Others. [One of five objectives at the most general level.]
>
> A. Examines individual beliefs, values, and behaviors. [One of six objectives at this level.] This includes:
>
> 1. Identifying individual beliefs, values, and behaviors and those of other persons such as family members and peers. [One of three objectives at this level.]
>
> (NAEP 1980, p. 8)

NAEP further elaborates each of the specific objectives, such as III-A-1 above, by writing test items intended to measure specific accomplishments related to the objective.

In constructing statements of goals and objectives, states and school districts commonly arrange goals in a hierarchy similar to that of NAEP. Specifying goals by grade levels is also common practice. In such a grade-level pattern, similar general goals and objectives are usually specified for different grade levels (possibly for all grade levels), but with different specific objectives at the different levels; these become more complex or demanding at higher grade levels, as illustrated in the NAEP citizenship objectives for the 1974-75 assessment:

> III. Know the Main Structure and Functions of Their Governments. [One of seven general objectives.]
>
> C. Know the political structure of their local community. [One of six objectives at this level.]
>
> Age 9: They know what the major offices and activities of their local goverment are.
>
> Age 13: (In addition to Age 9) They are aware that various unofficial as well as official groups may have some influence on their local government.
>
> Age 17: They know the functions of officers and major departments of local government. They recognize the many kinds of official and unofficial interest groups (e.g., labor unions, church groups, service, business and farming organizations, neighborhood and women's groups, and prominent industries) which exert influence on their local government.
>
> Adult: (In addition to Age 17) They know whether principal offices are elective or appointive and generally how the local government conducts its business.
>
> (NAEP 1972, p. 21)

A similar structure is presented in Social Studies for North Dakota Schools; goals and subgoals are stated, with variations according to grade levels, as follows:

> II. Use analytical-scientific procedures effectively
>
> A. Identify and define problems and issues
>
> K-5: Identify the central problem in a situation; identify the major issues in a dispute
>
> 6-8: Identify the central problem in a confused, problematic situation and thereby distinguish it from related but secondary problems.
>
> 9-12: 1. Identify the central problem in a confused, problematic situation and thereby distinguish it from related but secondary problems. 2. Distinguish among definitional, value, and factual issues in a dispute.
>
> (Social Studies for North Dakota Schools n.d., pp. 23, 41, 59)

Goals may also be specified more precisely by grade level and subject, as in this illustration from the Dallas, Texas social studies guide:

> AMERICAN HISTORY
> LEVEL 11
> MASTERY OBJECTIVES
>
> The learner will:
>
> A. Examine the complexities of a dynamic technological society and identify adjustments demanded from individuals as a result of rapid technological change.
>
> Focus
>
> --Demonstrate how international interdependence relates to technological advancement.
>
> --Describe the relationship between technological complexity and internal social stress.
>
> --Describe the constant reassessment of a nation's alternatives in response to rapid technological change.

> --Identify individual and group methods of coping with frustrations inherent in technological change.
>
> (Dallas Independent School District 1978, p. 51)

Possibly the most detailed and highly structured instance of goals and objectives is that of the Tri-County (Oregon) Goal Development Project. Course Goals in Social Science, K-12 identifies four levels of goals--system, program, course, and instructional--and presents a brief list of program goals and a lengthy list of course goals; system and instructional goals are not covered. The full hierarchy can be illustrated as follows:

- System goals (not covered in this guide)
  - Program goals (13 social science goals and 5 career education goals)
    - Course goals (11 categories, including Economics)
      - 5. Economics (one of 11 course goals)
        - 5.6 Economic problems
          - 5.6.2 Macro-economic problems
            - 5.6.2.1 Economic instability
              - 5.6.2.1.3 Policies for economic stability
                - Goal #5 The student knows monetary policies a national government may employ in the attempt to counter (a) inflationary and (b) recessionary trends or pressures
              - Instructional goals (not covered in this guide)

(Tri-County Goal Development Project 1976)

This guide of almost 1,200 pages contains about 4,700 items at the most specific level. Each specific goal is keyed, as appropriate, to 18 program goals, 4 grade levels, 12 knowledge categories, 79 process categories, 160 value categories, and 110 concepts. Goals are cross-referenced and are also presented in indices totaling 50 pages.

These four examples from four levels of government--national, state, intermediate, and local--illustrate the common pattern of hierarchical structures of goals as well as the diversity of particular goal statements. A much more extensive discussion of goals and objectives is presented later in this paper.

Rationales

While there is general agreement about the meaning of goals and objectives, confusion reigns regarding the term "rationale." Webster defines rationale as "the fundamental reasons for, or rational basis of, something; a statement, exposition, or explanation of reasons or principles." Morrissett and Stevens write that:

> "A rationale is not the same as an objective or list of objectives. An objective states what you wish to do; a rationale states why you want to do it. . . . (A rationale) is a philosophical position which justifies the inclusion and ordering of particular (content) in the curriculum. . . . A curriculum rationale should be concerned with the relationship of the curriculum to the individual and to society. More specifically, rationale should deal with the following questions:
>
> 1. What is the nature of the individual? . . .
> 2. What is the nature of society? . . .
> 3. How are society and the individual related to each other? . . .
> 4. How are the particular curriculum materials at hand related to the answers to the above questions?
>
> (Morrissett and Stevens 1971, pp. 1-4)

Newmann has written what is probably the most complete statement of what a curriculum rationale should be. Presented in the context of citizenship education, his prescription can, with only slight modifications, be taken as a general model for social studies rationales. The elements of Newmann's argument can be outlined as follows. Each of these items is explained at length in the reference cited.

- Curriculum Goals
  - Articulation
  - Justification
    - Nature of values
    - Nature of social reality
    - Nature of knowledge
    - Nature of learning
    - Definition of community
    - Citizenship and other goals of schooling

Schools and other social agencies
Authenticity
Diversity

(Newmann 1977, pp. 11-29)

Combining and restructuring Morrissett/Stevens and Newmann gives the following suggested six-element structure for a curriculum rationale:

1. The Nature of the Individual. This part of the rationale, which would subsume Newmann's "Diversity," should describe aspects of the individual (including individuals) such as the following:

a. What are the needs, desires, and/or goals of the individual concerning matters that are physical (or material), social, intellectual, and aesthetic?

b. What are the actual or potential capabilities of the individual for achieving these goals? Capabilities include physical, mental, and moral aspects of potential accomplishment. Stated negatively, what are the physical, mental, and moral limitations on the accomplishment of the individual's goals?

c. How do the goals and capabilities of the individual develop over the life span of the individual? What goals are most prominent at various ages or stages of development? What capabilities are present at various ages or stages of development?

d. How much diversity is there among individuals with respect to goals and capabilities? Is there a large common core of goals and capabilities, or is diversity the outstanding feature of groups of individuals?

2. The Nature of Society. This part of a rationale, which would subsume Newmann's "Nature of Social Reality" and "Definition of Community," should address such questions as the following:

a. What is "society?" Do all the many kinds of societies have some commonalities? What are the ways in which societies differ?

b. Is society something apart from the group of individuals that comprise it at a particular time in history? Does society have a life of its own, more than or different from the lives of the individuals in the society?

c. What is the individual's relationship to society? Does the individual view society as friendly or hostile, helpful or hindering? To what extent can the individual influence society?

d. What is society's relationship to the individual? To what extent does society mold or control the individual? How much freedom does it allow to the individual in the various domains of the individual's life--intellectual, economic, moral, aesthetic, religious, etc.? To what extent does it influence or set values and goals of the individual?

e. To what extent does a society maintain its continuity and to what extent is it subject to change? What determines how much its continuity will be maintained and how much it can be changed? What are the processes or means by which society changes? What is the role of individuals and of groups of individuals in influencing continuity and change?

3. The Nature of Values. Questions of the following kind are relevant here:

a. How do individuals acquire values? From within themselves? from family, friends, school, religion?

b. To what extent are values determined by subjective personal opinions, to what extent by society?

c. Can some values be demonstrated to have universal validity?

4. The Nature of Knowledge. Questions of the following kind should be asked here:

a. Is there an objective reality such that investigations by and communication among individuals will create a common view of what reality is? Or is reality a private thing, more or less different for every individual, with each view of reality equally valid?

b. How do people create or acquire knowledge? What are the processes by which people gather, organize, test, accumulate, and store knowledge?

c. Are there different kinds of knowledge; or equivalently, is it useful to classify knowledge into various categories? For example, is a classification such as physical science, social science, and humanities useful? Is a classification into knowledge (content), skills, and attitudes useful?

d. What are the institutional arrangements for acquiring and storing knowledge? Specifically, what is the role of individuals and organizations in forming and perpetuating "subjects" or "disciplines"?

What is the role of such subjects or disciplines in acquiring and storing knowledge and/or in inhibiting the discovery of new knowledge?

5. The Nature of Learning. This part of the rationale subsumes Newmann's "Schools and Other Social Agencies," recognizing the consideration, often neglected by educators, that school represents only one arena in which student learning occurs. Questions of these kinds should be asked here:

a. What characteristics of learners, individually and in groups, are relevant to how students learn?

b. What motivates students to learn? Is it useful to identify "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" motivations (intrinsic motivations that come from within the individual, such as curiosity or a conviction that the acquisition of certain knowledge might be useful; extrinsic motivation that includes various kinds of rewards and punishments imposed by teachers or others)?

c. Are the system and environment within which learning takes place supportive of the goals of learning?

d. Are there levels or stages of physical, mental, or emotional development that make certain kinds of learning and methods more suitable at some times than at others? If so, what are these levels or stages, how can they be identified, and how can they be related to particular kinds of learning and methods of learning?

e. By what processes do students learn? To what extent do they learn by copying the behavior of teachers and other models, by reading, by listening to verbal presentations, by structured or unstructured experiences, by attempting to solve problems which are set for them or which they identify for themselves?

6. Curriculum Goals and Objectives. The purpose of the preceding questions is to provide guidance for selecting goals and objectives and constructing curricula which take account of the essential ingredients of social studies learning--the nature of the individual, of society, of values, of knowledge, and of learning. All of these elements should guide educators in structuring both content and methods. In turn, all that is done in curriculum should be compatible with the rationale on which the curriculum is based. This relationship between the five elements and curriculum goals subsumes Newmann's "Articulation" and

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"Authenticity." Concerning articulation, Newmann asks, "What do you propose to teach and why?" Concerning authenticity, Newmann stresses the need for consistency between goals and the processes used to achieve those goals.

A figure illustrating these relationships may be useful. Figure 1 is intended to indicate that we begin with the individual and society--with their nature, needs, and relationships. We are then led to consider the nature of values and how they interact with the individual and society; thence to knowledge and its relationship to the individual and society; thence to how individuals learn and how society is related to the learning of individuals. All of this knowledge of the individual, society, values, knowledge, and learning is then focused on the goals and objectives of a curriculum, with the requirement that they be consistent with the other parts of the system. Goals and objectives should then guide decisions about curriculum content and methods.

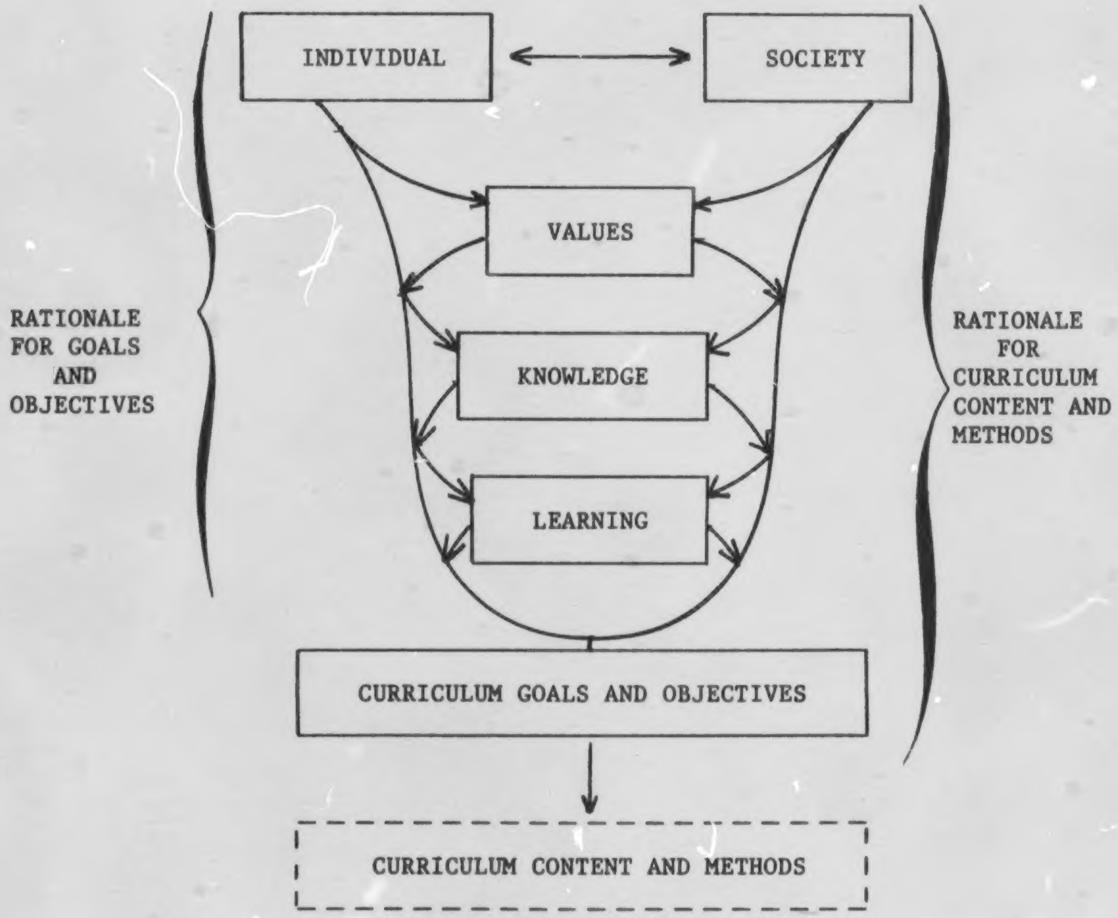
The term "rationale" may be used to indicate the basis for selecting goals and objectives, as indicated by the left bracket in Figure 1. Alternatively, the term may be understood to include goals and objectives, in which case it becomes a rationale for curriculum content and methods, as indicated by the right bracket in Figure 1; this is the sense in which Newmann uses the term.

One difference between the rationale structure described in Figure 1 and the Newmann structure is the placement of goals. Newmann places curriculum goals first, then proceeds to consideration of "articulation" and "justification" of the goals and thence to other elements of the rationale. The structure we have given above begins with consideration of the nature of the individual, of society, and so forth, and then leads to goals and objectives.

We recognize, however, that one might argue that, because of their very general nature, goals command wide, general agreement among educators and citizens, but rationales and objectives (and content and materials) tend to divide these same groups along continua of real differences in point of view. Therefore, persons have differing rationales

Figure 1

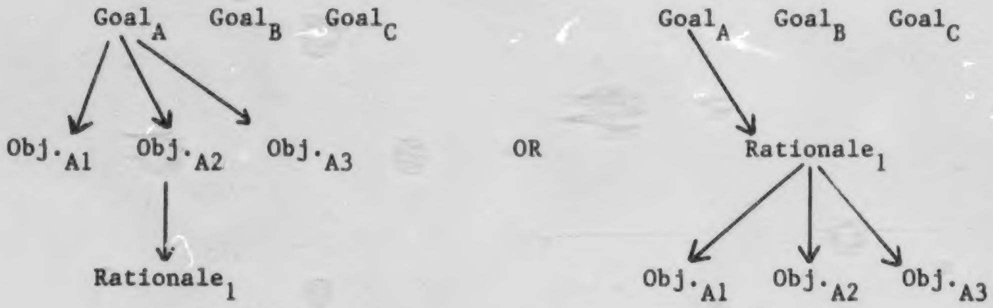
STRUCTURE FOR A CURRICULUM RATIONALE


INDIVIDUAL
SOCIETY
VALUES
KNOWLEDGE
LEARNING
RATIONALE FOR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
RATIONALE FOR CURRICULUM CONTENT AND METHODS
CURRICULUM GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
CURRICULUM CONTENT AND METHODS

and objectives in mind as they decide how broadly agreed-upon goals are to be pursued and reached. This is a "messier" process, in that one begins with goals and then proceeds either to rationale and objectives or to objectives and rationale. Figure 2 depicts these two variants in sequence:

Figure 2

TWO SEQUENCES FOR DEVELOPING A RATIONALE



In practice, it may make little difference which model one has in mind. The process of relating rationale, goals, and objectives to each other can never be linear; the curriculum planner must move back and forth among rationales, goals, and objectives, checking and revising for consistency.

The Scarcity of Rationales

Rationales in the sense just described are virtually nonexistent. A great block to the construction of such rationales is the tremendous amount of effort required; SPAN staff and consultants, in extensive discussions of rationales, agreed that a complete rationale would require a book of many hundreds of pages--and ideally the professional should have available a number of different social studies rationales, reflecting different views of the nature of the rationale elements. Other reasons accounting for the lack of rationales include the great confusion that exists about the meaning of rationale and the lack of a felt need for rationales.

Jack Fraenkel explains the dearth of rationales as follows:

> Courses in educational philosophy are seldom required as part of an educator's professional training. Many social studies methods (or other) professors do not deal with questions of purpose in their courses in curriculum and instruction. Accordingly, rationale-building is something that few people in education have been socialized to do, although arguments to do so have been appearing more frequently as of late (Fraenkel 1980, p. 93).

Fraenkel goes on to note that "A few fairly well-developed statements of rationale for values education do exist," citing, as some others (for example, Shaver 1977b, p. 99) have, Oliver and Shaver's Teaching Public Issues in the High School (1966) and Hunt and Metcalf's Teaching High School Social Studies (1968). These volumes do give extensive justifications for the curriculum approaches they advocate, as does Newmann, arguing for a curriculum to produce "environmental competence," in Education for Citizen Action (1975). But these examples, which are far above the average curriculum approach with respect to a supporting rationale, still fall far short of the complete rationale model described above.

Confusion about the meaning of "rationale" is well illustrated by a study conducted by Joyce and Alleman-Brooks (1980). Twenty-four authors and coauthors of 19 elementary and middle school social studies methods textbooks responded to their request to indicate the most important goals for social studies and to give their rationales for teaching their subject. Joyce and Alleman-Brooks summarize the responses to the questions about rationales as follows:

> The respondents' rationales for teaching this school subject in the 1980s did not meet the researchers' expectation. With few exceptions the rationale statements failed to address the raison d'etre of the social studies: instead, they referred to such peripheral topics as teaching strategies, instructional modes, or goals. Indeed, some of these responses were mere elaborations or restatements of definitions of social studies (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1980, p. 68).

In practice, the term rationale is seldom used in connection with the presentation of social studies goals, objectives, and curricula. Barr, Barth, and Shermis' much-quoted Defining the Social Studies (1977) does not mention rationale. When the term is used in curriculum guides, it often refers to the most general, high-level goals.

More frequently than "rationale," the term "philosophy" is used in introducing a social studies guide. This is not inappropriate, since the two terms are closely related. Shaver has noted that "rationale-building is philosophy in its truest sense--the study of ideas and their implications" (Shaver 1977b, p. 98). The following excerpts are typical of curriculum guides that begin with a statement of "philosophy," as well as of many others that begin with similar statements labelled neither "philosophy" nor "rationale."

> We believe that the primary goal of Social Studies education is to prepare students to be active, responsible participants in society, endowed with a healthy respect for the rights of others and rich in the self-confidence that grows out of an understanding of and appreciation for . . . (Sargent and Satterfield 1978, p. 3).

> The purpose of the social studies is to help the individual realize the potential of his autonomy and yet retain sensitivity as an individual who exists in the community . . . (Starritt n.d., p. 1).

A rare exception to the statement that rationales are seldom written is embodied in a Minnesota state guide edited by Roger Wangen (1977). The guide includes a "Social Studies Education Rationale" adapted from a document authored by Edith West. Defining rationales as "a statement of philosophy (I believe statements), why I believe this, and implications for students," the statement elaborates "assumptions" about "People . . . the good society and good citizens in a democratic society . . . trends and issues in society . . . knowledge . . . learning . . . school as a social institution . . . what the role of the school should be in a democratic society" (Wangen 1977, pp. 27-40).

Rationales, goals, and objectives are closely related to, and are sometimes confused with, definitions. We turn next to a consideration of definitions of the social studies, beginning with the "identity crisis" that has been partly responsible for a renewed interest in defining social studies.

Definitions of Social Studies

The "Identity Crisis"

There has been much discussion in recent years about the problem of defining the social studies. A statement by Barr, Barth, and Shermis is typical:

> The field of social studies is so caught up in ambiguity, inconsistency, and contradiction that it represents a complex educational enigma. . . . The confusion in the field is apparent to those who write textbooks, prepare curriculum materials, teach educational methodology and

> philosophy, and certify the professional preparation of social studies teachers (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, pp. 1, 2).

Joyce and Alleman-Brooks attribute "the decline of the social studies" to "our reluctance to reach even nominal agreement regarding the identity of this school subject" (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1980, p. 61; emphasis in original).

In the NSF literature survey, Wiley observes that

> There is a lack of agreement as to what social studies really is, what it should be, and how it should be taught. This problem has typically been "solved" by including "anything and everything" in the social studies program. . . .
>
> . . . the greatest need in the social studies is to define the field.
>
> . . . one of the major problems--and perhaps the major problem--in the social studies over the past twenty years [1955-1975] has been that of defining the field: What are the purposes or goals of the social studies? What is the rationale for including social studies in the curricuum? What is the scope of the social studies in the curriculum?
>
> (Wiley 1977, pp. 47, 275, 289)

Even the venerable Edgar B. Wesley, whose much-quoted definition of social studies is given later, joined in the chorus of dismay:

> The phrase "social studies" has been defined as social science, as social service, as socialism, as radical left-wing thinking, as social reform, as anti-history, as a unifaction of social subjects, as a field, as a federation, as an integrated curriculum, as pro-child reform, as curriculum innovation. Elements of truth may be found in each of these concepts. No other subject has suffered such divisive doctrines. While other areas may involve combinations of various disciplines, none of them leads to the conclusion that exists in the social studies (Wesley 1978, p. iv).

The concern about defining the social studies may have been exaggerated. Another possibility is that expressions of concern about defining social studies are really symptoms of an underlying malaise brought about by criticisms of the social studies, questions about their value, demands for accountability, and lack of apparent improvement. In any case, the evidence seems to indicate that defining the social studies is not a central problem for most classroom teachers, despite the assertion of Barr, Barth, and Shermis that "The lack of a distinctive definition for the field of social studies has created especially difficult problems for the classroom teacher" (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, p. 3).

Lack of concern for defining the social studies was evident in the Illinois case studies. It is attested to by Howard Mehlinger who, although he asserted in his Foreword to Defining the Social Studies that "Social studies has an identity crisis" (Mehlinger 1977, p. iii), also stated more recently that "for high school . . . teachers, the definition of social studies is not a major concern--or even a minor one" (Mehlinger 1981, p. 253). Morrissett wrote that he did "not see and feel the problem of definition with the urgency felt by many social studies educators" and that, in any case, "there is some optimum degree of fuzziness in the definition of social studies or any other subject area. Some boundaries are needed, but they must be open and flexible" (Morrissett 1979, pp. 12-13).

Definitions

Whatever the need or lack of need to define the social studies, scores of authors and hundreds of school districts have devised their own definitions--or statements about social studies that pass as definitions. Wiley (1977, pp. 22-25) has presented a number of these suggested definitions.

Actually, very few of the proferred definitions would pass muster with Webster. Most proferred definitions of social studies focus on the principal purposes of social studies or on the methods used in social studies, bypassing a description of what social studies is (or are). A true definition tells what something is, not what it does or how it is accomplished, although the latter may be alluded to in the definition.

One of the few true definitions of social studies was put forth in a statement of the National Council for the Social Studies in 1962:

> The social studies are concerned with human relationships. Their content is derived principally from the scholarly disciplines of economics, geography, history, political science, and sociology, and includes elements from other social sciences, among them anthropology, archaeology, and social psychology ("The Role of the Social Studies" 1962, p. 315).

More common are "definitions" that focus on the purposes and/or methods of social studies, such as the following:

> The social studies seeks to help students strike a reasoned balance between self-centered personal development and unthinking acquiescence to the whims of others (Armstrong 1980, p. 3).

> Social studies (are) that part of the school's general education program which is concerned with the preparation of citizens for participation in a democratic society (Shaver 1967, p. 589).

> The social studies program includes those aspects of human relationships and social values, conditions, and changes believed to be of greatest importance for the general education of students (Michaelis 1976, p. 2).

The NCSS position statement of 1979, unlike its 1962 predecessor, omits any definition of social studies, but leads off with the statement that "The basic goal of social studies education is to prepare young people to be humane, rationale, participating citizens . . ." ("Revision of the NCSS Social Studies Curriculum Guidelines" 1979, p. 262).

The mixture of definitions with purposes and means is well illustrated in the summary made by Joyce and Alleman-Brooks of the definitions of social studies given by 22 textbook authors:

> Some of the respondents' definitions stress social action, inquiry, and problem solving, some stress individual needs and self-fulfillment, others ascribe great importance to one's interaction with the immediate environment, and still others emphasize the social science disciplines (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1980, p. 68).

Probably the most-quoted definition of social studies is the one given by Edgar B. Wesley more than 40 years ago:

> The *social studies* are the *social sciences* simplified for pedagogical purposes (Wesley 1937, p. 4).

While this definition has the merit of brevity, it is a roundabout definition, laying on the reader the task of finding out what social science is. Furthermore, it is somewhat gratuitous: is not any subject that is taught anywhere simplified (if and as necessary) for pedagogical purposes?

For all the mighty efforts that have gone into defining social studies for 60-plus years, there has probably been no improvement over the straightforward definition stated in the famous 1916 NEA report:

> The social studies are . . . those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and of man as a member of social groups (Dunn 1916, p. 9).

Since most proferred definitions of social studies really deal mostly with goals and methods, disputes about the nature of social studies may logically be dealt with under the rubric of goals and objectives, which is the subject of a following section.

Approaches to Social Studies

Significantly, the most-often-discussed part of Barr, Barth, and Shermis's Defining the Social Studies (1977) is not their consideration of definitions nor their excellent brief history of development of social studies, but their description of "three traditions." These traditions are "Citizenship Transmission," which they say has long been the dominant tradition, "Social Science," and "Reflective Inquiry." We have used the term "approaches" to indicate such differing foci in social studies programs, which we elaborate on below.

Conservative Cultural Continuity

The dominant, mainstream approach to the social studies has been described by a variety of shorthand rubrics: "Citizenship Transmission," "Transmission of the Cultural Heritage," "Conservative Cultural Continuity." This approach is pervasive and has great staying power. It is a commonplace to assert that public schools exist primarily to socialize children and youth into the values, norms, and mores of their society. Equally obvious is the fact that this process of socialization is shared by a number of primary and secondary agents, that the chief primary agent is the family, and that key secondary agents are the local community and the local schools. Frequently this socialization process is referred to by educators as "the hidden curriculum," because it seems to operate beneath the surface of the ostensible curriculum.

Thus, schools are viewed as "housing" two types of curricula: the surface, ostensible one which includes the general education fields (language arts, science, mathematics, social studies, music, art, physical education), vocational education fields (home economics and industrial arts), and co- or extracurricular activities (clubs and intramural sports); and the subrosa, hidden curriculum which includes the structures of the school and classroom as social systems, the rules and mores of these social systems, and their social functions (such as sorting or social-role selection) performed by schools as agents of a particular society. Less obvious is that in the social studies curricular area more than in any other field, these two curricula tend to merge and to clearly complement one another. Much of the agonizing over social studies approaches can be viewed as attempts to separate the hidden from the surface curriculum in order to re-conceive the latter, or as attempts to reconcile the merged dual curriculum with conceptions of a democratic society.*

Barr, Barth, and Shermis allude to this possibly confounding factor of socialization:

> Social studies has functioned as a mirror for our society. Our society believes and acts as though it must perpetuate its beliefs, values, customs, traditions--as, of course, do all societies. Schools function as just this vehicle for transmission; and of all of the school subjects, the social studies most insistently lends itself to being the repository of societal values and traditions (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, p. 9).

What these authors fail to acknowledge is that precisely because education and socialization are united in the social studies, the dominant approach tends to be a conserving and preserving one, designed to socialize the young to the current status quo and to educate students via an extremely restricted and romanticized interpretation of history, politics, and economics. Haas calls this pervasive mainstream position "Conservative Cultural Continuity" or CCC (Haas 1979).

One aspect of the CCC approach is its generally tacit nature--unarticulated and assumed. It is tacit because it appears to prevail at every moment in the educational history of the social studies in the 20th century, although it does change somewhat (rarely and slightly) over time in response to prevailing social and cultural forces. The potency of the CCC position lies in its support of the status quo, of historical continuity, and of the highly selected sequence of "causal" events that seem to form a "chain of inevitability" from past to present. It is an approach peculiarly suited to conveying an interpretation of history as the "natural" evolution of the concepts of growth and progress (for example, "today" is always better). Little wonder, then, that this approach usually faces stern tests only during times of societal upheaval such as in the 1930s or during the Vietnam war era.

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*Roger Fielding (1981) has written a comprehensive review of the ideas centered around the concept of a "hidden curriculum."

The CCC position relies heavily on tradition in Western civilization and in American society; on history as selected facts and events that enhance the prestige of the United States as the fulfillment and culmination of Western culture; on political science as the justification of the superiority of American republican democracy as a form of government and for the idealization of the citizen as the repository of power; and on political and economic geography to legitimize national destiny, state destiny, imperialism, and the U.S. capitalist economic system. The CCC approach ensures the perpetuation of a society's myths, ceremonies, and rituals, especially as these celebrate the socio-politico-economic status quo, the current conceptions of growth and progress, and an extreme gradualism as the preferred mode of social change.

What Haas calls "Conservative Cultural Continuity," Barr, Barth, and Shermis call "Citizenship Transmission." They grant that "most teachers in most cultures reflect this approach to the social studies. . . . It is the position most often supported by the general public." Their description of this "tradition," however, is rather vague, failing to portray its full power. They say:

> It seems to be the approach to social studies supported by groups demanding a return to the basics. The essence of Citizenship Transmission, as the name suggests, is that the adult teachers possess a particular conception of citizenship that they wish all students to share. . . . The teacher knows the important philosophical goals; knows how people ought to relate to each other, what is considered desirable behavior, and what the culture considers to be the best form of social participation (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, p. 59).

In the 20th century, while CCC mainstream social studies has prevailed, two reform positions have challenged the dominant approach. These reform positions have surfaced at various times under various labels. Usually in response to highly visible critiques and highly vocal critics, they have appeared, gained interest and momentum, and then faded from the scene, only to reappear a decade or so later in new garb.

Process of Thinking Reflectively

To one of these reform positions, Haas gives the name "Process of Thinking Reflectively" (PTR), while the other he calls "Intellectual Aspects of History and/or the Social Sciences" (IHSS). These are similar to the terms Barr, Barth, and Shermis use, which are respectively "Reflective Inquiry" and "Social Science." In a sense, we might say that advocates of the PTR approach attack one flank of the CCC position, while those that espouse IHSS attempt to breach the other flank. In this analysis, PTR refers to those thought processes by which knowledge is created, appraised, and acted upon (for example, decision making and personal/social action), and IHSS refers to the products (for example, interpretations, concepts, theories, conclusions, and generalizations) of intellectual (academic) inquiry.

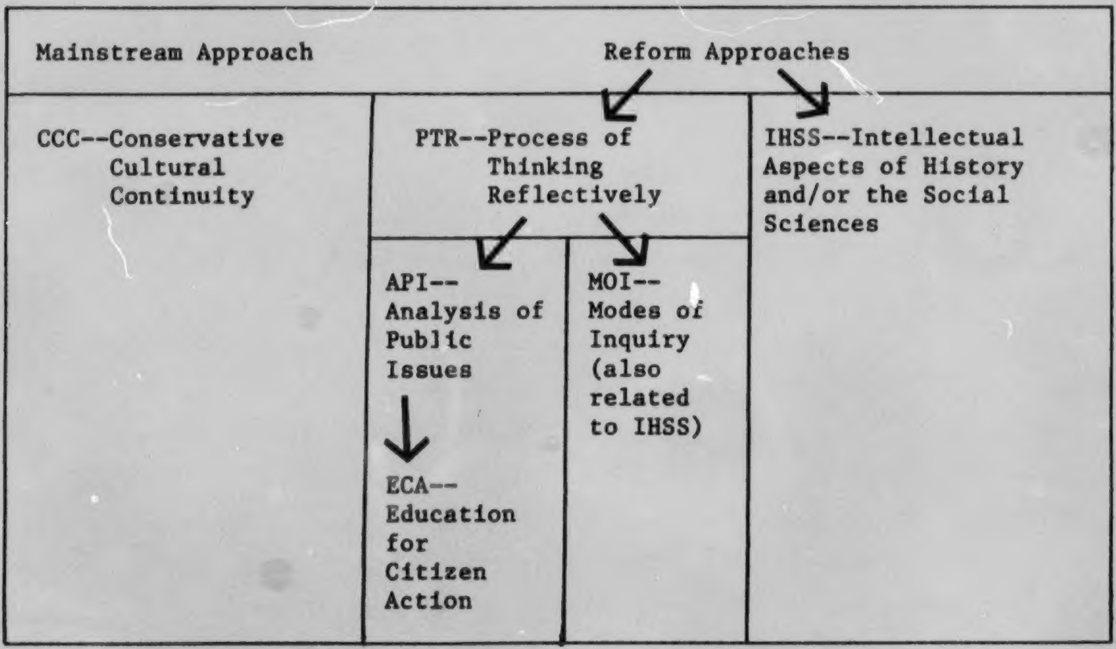
The basis of a PTR approach lies in the promotion of thinking, that is, of reflective thought. John Dewey's successors who advocated PTR sometimes used his terms and descriptions for "a complete act of thought," but often they used other rubrics such as critical thinking, rational decision making, or problem solving (Dewey 1910). Also, the process of clarifying personal and social values (not commitment to particular values) best fits the PTR position.

Of course, one needs subjects of thought, grist for the mill so to speak. PTR advocates generally prefer contemporary, though not transient, social issues or problems, from local to global, as focuses for reflective thinking. These are controversial, problematical issues, crucial to the social life of a group or community. They may take the form of what Hunt and Metcalf call "closed areas"--closed in the sense that social taboos and controversy surround the suggested topical areas. Some of their topics are "race and minority-group relations," "social class," "sex, courtship, and marriage," and "religion and morality" (Hunt and Metcalf 1955). Other sources for problems or issues are local community controversies, broader societal issues highlighted by national or world media, school-based controversies, and personal predicaments.

Within the PTR reform position, there seem to be at least two variants, separate from but related to the general PTR approach just described. One of these is the "Analysis of Public Issues" (API) approach, which contains a subvariant, "Education for Citizen Action" (ECA). The other PTR variant Haas designates the "Modes of Inquiry" (MOI) approach, the connnecting link to the other major reform position, IHSS. Figure 3 depicts these positions.

Figure 3

MAINSTREAM AND REFORM APPROACH IN
SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION


Mainstream Approach
Reform Approaches
CCC--Conservative Cultural Continuity
PTR--Process of Thinking Reflectively
IHSS--Intellectual Aspects of History and/or the Social Sciences
API--Analysis of Public Issues
MOI--Modes of Inquiry (also related to IHSS)
ECA--Education for Citizen Action

(Haas 1979, p. 151)

The API rationale grew out of the seminal work of Harvard's Donald Oliver and the elaborations and extensions of his approach by three of his doctoral students: James Shaver, Harold Berlak, and Fred Newmann. Unique in the history of social studies education, API began to emerge as a significant minority reform (within PTR) during the late 1950s, reaching a peak of visibility from 1966 through the early 1970s.

API also has been referred to as the "jurisprudential case-study approach" and the "analysis of public controversy approach." It is a rationale based on an analysis of the root values that undergird the structures of American society. The API rationale relies heavily on the social analysis exemplified by Gunnar Myrdal (1944) in his classic work, An American Dilemma.

Of particular concern in the API approach is Myrdal's conception of an "American Creed," a cluster of shared ideals which include "the essential dignity of the individual human being . . . the fundamental equality of all man . . . certain inalienable rights to freedom, justice, and a fair opportunity"; a concept of democracy elucidated in the Declaration of Independence, the Preamble of the Constitution, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights; Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points and Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms; "a humanistic liberalism developing out of the epoch of Enlightenment"; the perfectibility of man, reliance on the will of the majority, the use of several processes by which the consent of the governed is obtained; all resting upon the foundations of rationality, science as method, and democracy--the American trinity. Myrdal asserted that "the main norms of the American Creed as usually pronounced are centered in the belief in equality and in the rights to liberty" (Myrdal 1944, pp. 4-12).

API advocates maintain that although virtually all American citizens subscribe verbally or tacitly to the tenets of the creed, in actual situations of social living, it is impossible to consistently and simultaneously uphold all the values contained in the creed. This is so, they maintain, because the creed itself is an amalgam of discrete ideals rather than a consistent and whole value system. Thus, in any social situation in which conflict over how to act or what to do is explicit or implicit, American citizens will inevitably face the dilemma and frustration of having to choose between or among values in the creed. Such dilemmas are most readily apparent in legal cases, especially those cases that receive appellate consideration by federal district courts, state supreme courts, and the United States Supreme Court (Oliver and Shaver 1966).

The type of critical thinking advocated by API writings is a set of discrete ordered processes: (1) defining issues, (2) identifying factual as distinguished from explanatory and definitional disputes, (3) distinguishing between public and private, serious and nonserious issues, (4) discussion-argumentation skills (for example, rational dialogue), (5) using analogies, and (6) a variety of techniques for clarifying controversies such as recognizing selective perception and multiple use of language (Oliver and Shaver 1966).

As mentioned earlier, there is a distinctive variant of API, which has been termed by its developer, Fred Newmann, Education for Citizen Action (Newmann 1975). Newmann has noted a seeming flaw in virtually all PTR approaches: the lack of reality-testing, of the necessity to act on the decisions, conclusions, or generalization which result from reflective thinking. What Newmann calls attention to are the perpetual dilemmas in Western culture of analysis vs. commitment, of thought vs. action, of vicarious vs. experiential learning and living.

In his ECA rationale, Newmann argues that citizen action as an educational goal addresses several problems of children and adolescents--the prevalence of feelings of powerlessness and of being inefficacious as a person, of widespread disaffection and alienation, and of pervasive boredom. To overcome such attitudes, Newmann advocates an approach that yields "impact by action"--impact on self and environment and action to exert individual (or collective) influence after reflection and determination of feasible goals. Put differently, competence in affecting one's environment can be accomplished by taking social action toward determined goals, which have been arrived at via reflective thinking, and achieving a measure of success that enhances one's feelings of efficacy (Newmann 1975).

Thus, in addition to the API emphases on public issues and critical thinking, Newmann's ECA includes social action or efforts to exert influence on one's life-space as a logical extension of thought processes. Of course, this means that an ECA social studies curriculum cannot be confined exclusively to classroom activities. The arenas in which the social studies curriculum occurs will be extended to the school-as-society, the home, the community, and even on occasion to larger social environments.

A final type of PTR approach is the "Modes of Inquiry" (MOI) position. Rarely, however, is this position advocated separately from its broader and logical relative, the "Intellectual Aspects of History and the Social Sciences" approach. Because MOI is basically a disciplined thinking approach, it is here considered a variant of PTR.

As might be inferred, the MOI approach derives from the nature of inquiry, of investigation, of producing knowledge in the academic disciplines of history and the social sciences. Advocates of the MOI position expect students to learn the ways academicians create knowledge in their specific disciplines. In a sense, MOI adherents want students to become their own historians, geographers, political scientists, economists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists by mastering the processes of knowing or thinking used by these practitioners. Thus, those suggesting that the social studies curriculum be re-oriented to an MOI model want students to learn and use historical method, scientific method, and a number of more specific techniques such as participant observation (in anthropology), survey research (in all social sciences), statistical manipulation (in all social sciences), empirical-experimental research (in the behavioral social sciences), and case study (in most social sciences; called "biographical study" in history). At its simplest, MOI is the two-part sequence of hypothesis formation followed by proof process, which allows the investigator (read student) to corroborate, refute, or modify the original hypothesis. MOI is also a link between the two reform approaches--PTR and IHSS.

Intellectual Aspects of History and the Social Sciences

The second major reform branch is what Haas calls "Intellectual Aspects of History and the Social Sciences" or IHSS (Haas 1979, pp. 148-49). This approach is usually promoted by academic scholars in the disciplines of history and the social sciences. In their recommendations for improvement and reform, the academicians usually call for one or more of the following changes:

--the reduction or elimination of repetition (for example, repetition of American history in grades 5, 8, and 11)

--the inclusion of content from "neglected" social sciences (for example, anthropology and social psychology)

--more accurate and up-to-date knowledge from the discipline

--the preservation of the integrity of academic disciplines, whether presented as individual studies or used in interdisciplinary contexts

The IHSS approach was the prime intellectual force behind the new social studies movement. The heart of both this approach and the new social studies movement was the intellectualization of the social studies curriculum based on the nature of the structures of disciplines of knowledge and on discovery learning.

The structure of a discipline of knowledge contains the topics its practitioners investigate, the methods they use in their inquiries, and the knowledge resulting from their research. Put another way, the structures of a discipline comprise its models and theories, its concepts, principles, laws, and/or generalizations, and its research methodologies and designs.

When applied to the social studies curriculum, the IHSS rationale (or "Structures of Knowledge" approach) results in the identification of and emphasis on "high mileage" concepts and generalizations as the content of the curriculum. The mode of teaching and learning is to be inquiry:

> Inquiry is both a learning and a teaching paradigm. As a learning paradigm, inquiry is far more complex than the mastery of a sequential methodology. Inquiry learning in the social studies is composed of at least four types of thinking (i.e., social sciencing, critical thinking, intuitive thinking and creative thinking) and a certain attitude (open-mindedness) toward the approach. As a teaching paradigm, the inquiry approach can play on internal or external motivations of the learner. The teacher, in effect, can choose a "re-discover" or "re-inquiry" approach which enhances external motivation, or a "genuine" inquiry approach (open beginning, and open-ended) which enhances internal motivation (Haas and Van Scotter 1975, p. 80).

The Dominant Approach--CCC

In the history of social studies education in this century, the CCC position has been both dominant and ubiquitous, changing ever so slightly from decade to decade, usually as a result of the sociocultural dialectic, of the minimal successes of reform movements, and of pseudo-reforms which do not challenge the basis of CCC. However eloquently stated or forcefully advocated by academics, the two major reform positions have only been able to veer the CCC approach slightly, although some short-lived dramatic reforms may have been realized in a limited number of schools and classrooms.

Far and away the most popular way of viewing approaches (or schools of thought, or traditions) is the schema first presented by Barth and Shermis (1970) and then later by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977). The Haas schema could be considered a takeoff from and a further elaboration of the Barr-Barth-Shermis formulation. Brubaker (1967) articulated a two-part majority-minority scheme. He considers "Good Citizenship" to be the majority position, similar to the Barr-Barth-Shermis "Citizenship Transmission" and the Haas "Conservative Cultural Continuity." Brubaker's minority position is called "Social Science Inquiry" and is akin to the Barr-Barth-Shermis "Social Science" (with a touch of "Reflective Inquiry") and to the Haas "Intellectual Aspects of History and the Social Sciences" (plus his "Modes of Inquiry" subposition of "Process of Thinking Reflectively").

Brubaker has recently refined his majority-minority positions into what he now refers to as "a five-camp model" (Brubaker, Simon, and Williams 1977):

1. Social studies as knowledge of the past as a guide to good citizenship
2. Social studies in the student-centered tradition
3. Social studies as reflective inquiry
4. Social studies as structure of the disciplines
5. Social studies as socio-political involvement

In this five-part scheme, 1 is similar to the Barr-Barth-Shermis "Citizenship Transmission" and the Haas CCC; 2 is derived from the early traditions of the progressive education movement and takes as its starting point the experience and interest of the child; 3 is the same as the Barr-Barth-Shermis "Reflective Inquiry" and the Haas PTR; 4 is like the Barr-Barth-Shermis "Social Science" and Haas IHSS; and 5 is similar to the Haas subposition ECA of his PTR.

A set of "five dominant rationales for modern social education," rather similar to the five "camps" described by Brubaker, Simon, and Williams, is described and critiqued by William Stanley (1981). The major purpose of his article is different, however; it concerns the extent to which each of the five "rationales" points to social criticism and social change--a subject that is dealt with in the section below on goals and objectives.

Parallel to the 1977 Brubaker-Simon-Williams article, Morrissett (1977) conducted a study intended to show the extent to which social studies educators used the various approaches of the "five-camp model." In the opinion of the 440 self-selected respondents in the study--a group that included junior and senior high teachers, chairpersons, college teachers, and consultants and supervisors--the prevailing approach by far of social studies teachers was "history as the major and/or integrating focus of study; emphasis on sound knowledge and understanding of the past as a guide to good citizenship." This finding seems to support the view of Barr, Barth, and Shermis and of Haas that "Citizenship Transmission," or "Conservative Cultural Continuity," is the dominant approach of social studies teachers. (However, it may be significant that the self-selected respondents to the survey attributed the use of the "history" approach much more to others than to themselves.)

Having discussed rationales in an earlier section, then taking a detour through "definitions" and "approaches," showing the relationship of these concepts to each other, we now turn to a detailed consideration of goals and objectives.

Goals and Objectives

Introduction

This section focuses on goals and objectives. As already indicated, goals are usually understood to mean rather broad aims, while objectives refer to narrower or more specific aims. No clear dividing line between goals and objectives exists and the distinction is not always made; the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), for example, uses the two terms interchangeably.

Most of this section deals with (broad) goals rather than (narrow) objectives because goal statements are indicative of the major emphases and differences that may exist among social studies educators. Discussion of goals is also a more manageable task than analyzing the tens of thousands of social studies objectives that have been put forth. However, some discussion of objectives is included in the subsection on "The Multiplicity of Goals and Objectives."

Citizenship as the Goal of Social Studies

Citizenship or citizenship education, always with the connotation of good citizenship, is very frequently cited as the "central," "primary," "overarching," "basic," or "major," goal or "focus" of social studies. Typical examples follow:

> The basic goal of social studies education is to prepare young people to be humane, rational, participating citizens . . . ("Revision . . . " 1979, p. 262).

> The central purpose of history-social science education is to prepare students to be humane, rational, understanding, and participating citizens . . . (California Department of Education 1981, p. 1).

> A reasonable focus . . . is the preparation of students for more reflective and effective political participation in their society (Shaver 1967, p. 589).

> The social studies integrates human experience and knowledge for the purpose of citizenship education (Connecticut Department of Education 1981, p. I-1).

> (W)hat the schools should do above all is to try to build positive commitments in thought and action to the democratic values of the liberal political community and to the liberal political processes of the democratic constitutional order (Butts 1980, [illegible]. 118).

> (V)irtually all proponents of social studies believe that one must gain knowledge, process it in some fashion and weigh values. The purpose of all such activity is enlightened participation in a democratic self-government (Barth and Shermis 1980, p. 8).

A strong concern for citizenship education has been evident from the earliest days of the American republic. Freeman Butts has reviewed the history of the concerns, debates, and emphases of the advocates of citizenship education in public schools from the 1770s to the present (Butts 1980, chapter 3). He demonstrates that there has been a strong and continuing interest in developing civic values and responsible civic action throughout our national history, albeit with considerable diversity as to the meaning of citizenship education, as illustrated by the tendency

> . . . to vacillate between didactic approaches that ranged between two extremes: those motivated by strong moral, national, or nativist fervor that gave civic education a tone of preachy or pugnacious patriotism; and those that would at all costs avoid political controversy in the schools, and thus turn civic education into pedantic, pallid, platitudinous, or pusilanimous exercises (Butts 1980, p. 53).

Hazel Hertzberg has also described the persistence of the citizenship education theme as a part of her insightful description of social studies reform efforts from 1880 to the present (Hertzberg 1981).

What does it mean to make citizenship the "basic," "central," or "overarching" goal of social studies? It often is not possible to discern whether the proponents of citizenship education propose that citizenship be an important component, along with other objectives, or the only goal of social studies. Many statements of purpose of the social studies sound very much like the latter, which would imply that subject matter be admitted to the social studies only if it has a clear relationship to the objective of making better citizens. Butts's (1980) well-reasoned and passionate plea for The Revival of Civic Learning decries the diversity of objectives that constantly crowd into the social studies curriculum and seems to argue for a strong and perhaps exclusive focus on "civic learning." Similarly, Shaver says that

> The central query for NCSS should not be how to teach history, or economics, or political science better, but rather: what contribution does each have to make to citizenship education? (Shaver 1977a, p. 302).

Whatever the intent of the proponents of citizenship education, guidelines, syllabi, and texts for social studies do contain diverse content, much of which is only remotely related to citizenship if at all. In most cases, it makes little difference whether the document begins with a strong endorsement of citizenship education; the content flows on, much or most of it without obvious relationship to citizenship. This discrepancy between a stated principal goal and the detailing of a curriculum is viewed with dismay by strong proponents of citizenship education such as Butts and Shaver. In commenting on a statement by educators ("Essentials of the Social Studies" 1981) that presumably contains a commitment to citizenship, Butts asks:

> (W)hat has happened to the overarching goal of developing citizens? All of these "essentials" will surely stand citizens in good stead, but I do not see that this statement, or any number of other curriculum guides I have seen, tries to make explicit what the meaning of citizenship is or should be, what explicit roles public citizens (as distinguished from private persons) should play in social and political life. I do not find much clue as to what our "informed, thinking citizen" should be informed or think about in his or her role of citizen. I find no hint as to what kind of society or government it is that this citizen is being prepared to participate in (Butts 1980, pp. 85-86).

Similarly, Shaver notes that

> . . . social studies educators are caught between uttering commitments to education for rational citizenship and perpetuating curricula which are based on criteria that seem in large part irrelevant to this objective . . . (T)he long-standing commitments to citizenship education . . . have failed to have a pervasive effect on the character of social studies education (Shaver 1967, p. 589).

The reasons why citizenship education, despite its history of persistent support, has never come close to meeting the desires of its proponents are many. At the most general level, one could argue that our high hopes for education in general, backed by substantial (if never adequate) resources, have never been realized, so why single out citizenship for special concern? But we can be much more specific than that. One difficulty lies in the diffuse meanings given to citizenship education. For Butts and many other proponents, it means knowledge about and active participation (or preparation for active participation) in public affairs, particularly in affairs of government. For others, exemplary behavior in the school and classroom may be the principal focus of "good citizenship"; this is a convenient interpretation for educators who wish to avoid social controversy. Others, particularly educators whose chief interest is in a particular subject, may simply argue that the learning of their subject will of course contribute to good citizenship.

Morrissett (1981) has argued that a major difficulty with citizenship education as it is often proposed is its lack of realism. It is unrealistic first in the high level of altruistic behavior on the part of future citizens that it sets as an ideal and presumably attainable goal. Modest goals may accomplish more than ideal goals. (Kenneth Boulding has stated, to the dismay of idealists, that "the best is the enemy of the good.") Second, many versions of citizenship education demand unrealistic amounts of time and effort of the good citizen; again, a modest goal may be more efficacious than a very high one. Third, citizenship education is unrealistic in pretending that democratic principles can be exemplified and practiced in schools and classrooms, which are typically (and necessarily?) authoritarian in nature. Finally, citizenship education is typically unrealistic in its presentation of how democracy works, ignoring or glossing over the nature of social conflict, special interest groups, political survival, and "rational voter ignorance." Alfred Kuhn has made a similar statement:

> The image of government taught in some civics courses constitutes dishonest merchandising about on a par with that for some over-the-counter drugs. If such courses would teach more about the nature of power and the politics of group decisions, and less about the "public will" and the "public good," we might hope to have a more effective citizenry (Kuhn 1975, p. 314n).

Most efforts to define a single goal for the social studies have pointed to some version of citizenship, although a few other single-goal orientations have been suggested. Oliver and Shaver (1966, p. 9) urged a commitment "to promote the dignity and worth of each individual who lives in the society." Newmann (1977) has argued for "environmental competence" as the goal of social studies. Charles Beard (1932, p. 93ff) long ago pled for "the creation of rich and many-sided personalities" as the "supreme purpose" of social studies. Emphases on the development of the whole person as a goal of education or as a goal of social studies are not uncommon, as expressed by a teacher in the Illinois case studies:

> Social studies should help a student to become an effective competent human being, comfortable with living, able to cope with life and change . . . the material is a vehicle for achieving that human relationship and that joy that can come from teaching and learning (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:13).

Whether or not a single goal is proposed, most statements of goals and objectives soon move to some hierarchical or taxonomic structure of goals and objectives. In recent years, these statements have most commonly been headed by a four-part division of goals, which is the subject of the following subsection.

Four Goals

By far the most common general classification of goals in recent statements is a division into knowledge, skills, attitudes or values, and participation. Examples are legion, some with slight variations:

Knowledge, Abilities, Valuing, Social Participation ("Revision . . . " 1979)

Knowledge, Thinking Skills, Democratic Beliefs, Participation Skills, Civic Action ("Essentials . . . " 1981)

Substantive Knowledge, Attitudes, Intellectual Skills, Participation Skills (Newmann 1977, p. 12)

Knowledge, Abilities, Values, Social Participation (Michigan Department of Education 1980)

Knowledge, Affect and Values, Inquiry Skills and Problem Solving, Social Skills and Actions (Dufty 1980)

Knowledge or Cognitive Component, Skills Component, Values or Affective Component, Participation Component (Connecticut Department of Education 1981)

Knowledge, Skills, Values, Social Participation (California Department of Education 1981)

Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes and Values, Social Participation (Alexandria Public Schools 1977)

In the NAEP draft of objectives for the citizenship and social studies assessment of 1981-1982, five major objectives are stated which do not correspond with the usual four-part classification. However, within these five goals, the four are easily discernible.

Each of the four major goals has a different history, which will be treated below. It can be mentioned briefly here that "knowledge" in some form has always been the staple of social studies--mostly factual knowledge--although there has been much controversy about what the content of that knowledge should be. Skills or abilities have a long history as accompaniments to knowledge. Values or attitudes have meant quite different things at different times, varying from unquestioning patriotism and docile classroom behavior to fundamental questioning of personal and social values. Participation is a relative newcomer, also with very different meanings, including both classroom activities and social action outside the classroom.

Other Goal Sets

As a result of the relatively recent inclusion of "participation" as a common goal, there have been and still are goal statements that include only knowledge, skills, and values or attitudes. Wiley's review of social studies literature for the period 1955-1975 uses only these three categories (Wiley 1977, pp. 27-28), as do many district guides. The Minnesota guide (Wangen 1977) uses the three similar categories of "cognitive," "process," and "affective" objectives.

Of greater interest are goal sets that are quite different from the usual four goals. Competitive goals for social studies (and education in general) have been suggested to be "child-centered," "subject-centered," and "society-centered" (Schneider 1980, pp. 13-15; Lawton 1979, p. II-2); but Lawton has pointed out that these can be considered as three goals to be attained simultaneously, which is compatible with the statement of Martorella (1980, p. 47) that "A social studies curriculum should derive principally from the needs and interests of students and of society."

Social studies goal sets have also been posed as "thinking, feeling, doing" (for example, Dufty 1981, p. 104), which "involve an interplay of the head, the hand, and the heart" (Martorella 1980, p. 47). These three goals may be taken as having a close correspondence with the four goals of knowledge (thinking, the head), attitudes or values (feeling, the heart), and skills and participation (doing, the hand).

Tyler has stated the "three functions" of education in the United States, which might also be applied specifically to social studies, as "socialization, social mobility, and individual self-realization" (Tyler 1981, p. 307). Joyce (1972, chapter 1) bases his approach to social studies on three "dimensions": intellectual, social, and personal. Fenton modified the four basic goals to "knowledge," "intellectual skills," "participatory skills," and "development of a value system compatible with a democratic system," and placed great emphasis on a fifth goal, "developing self-esteem" (Fenton 1977).

All of these major goal sets, and perhaps more, are derivable from the goals described by Charles Beard that contribute to a "rich and many-sided personality." A person so educated possesses information . . . [and has] certain skills . . . habits . . . indispensable to efficiency in private life and stability in public relations . . . attitudes of respect . . . loyalties will power and courage . . . esthetic appreciation . . . capacity for leadership and creative work . . . inventiveness and adaptability" (Beard 1932, pp. 97-112).

Absent from most statements of social studies goals is any mention of contributions to students' careers--a goal that many social studies educators avoid with revulsion. In a survey of administrators, supervisors, teachers, students, and parents regarding the general goals of education, with choices made among the three goals of "human purpose," "knowledge purpose," and "career purpose," the career purpose ranked well ahead of the knowledge purpose (Gooler 1971). But social studies educators, in part at least due to fear of inroads into social studies by the powerful advocates of vocational education, seldom suggest career preparation as a goal of social studies.

Knowledge

"The traditional and obvious sources of knowledge for social studies are the social science disciplines" (including history), state the 1979 NCSS Guidelines. According to the 1981 NCSS "Essentials" statement, social studies "focuses on . . . history and culture of our nation and the world, geography, . . . government, . . . economics, . . . social institutions, . . . intergroup and personal relationships, . . . (and) worldwide relationships of all sorts between and among nations, races, cultures, and institutions."

Similar to the NCSS "Essentials" statement, but somewhat broader, is the statement from the California framework:

> The traditional and obvious sources of knowledge for social science education are the social disciplines, including anthropology, economics, geography, political science or government, psychology, and sociology.

> Equally important are the humanistic disciplines. History is foremost among them. Literature, languages, law, ethics, and the arts are also essential components of a balanced curriculum--one that is concerned with knowledge, skills, social participation, and value choices in the social, economic, political, and personal realms (California Department of Education 1981, p. 6).

The California framework also gives capsule summaries of one to four pages each of anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and "The Humanities." Similarly, capsule summaries of the social science disciplines are given in the Connecticut guide (1981, pp. IV-4 to IV-16), the Minnesota guide (1977, pp. 49-62), and various other guides. Such summaries are probably even more common in social studies methods texts; for example, Armstrong (1980, chapters 19-21); Michaelis (1976, chapter 5); Nelson and Michaelis (1980, chapter 3); and Joyce (1972, chapters 2-4). Many of these presentations draw on the early work of Senesh (1967) in defining the concepts and structures of the social sciences.

Local district guides for the elementary grades sometimes present "scope and sequence" charts in which concepts, generalizations, or "understandings" related to each of the social sciences are presented (for example, Dallas Independent School District 1978). Another common approach is for guides to list topics, concepts, or generalizations drawn from the social sciences but not to specifically relate them to the social sciences. Wiley's analysis of trends in knowledge objectives for the period 1955-1975, based on 16 curriculum guides, is organized according to 14 "topics," including interdependence, other cultures, American heritage, and natural resources, as well as economics, human history, and geography (Wiley, Appendix, pp. 14-16).

A very broad view of the knowledge content appropriate to the social studies curriculum is contained in the NAEP statement of objectives for the 1981-1982 citizenship and social studies assessment. Literally hundreds of social studies educators (but no social scientists) participated in the writing and critiquing of these objectives; they should thus represent a rather broad consensus, at least among social studies educators who take time to contemplate the purposes of their profession. In the objectives, all of the social sciences are drawn on heavily, with the possible exception of anthropology. Sociology, social psychology, economics, and political science (or government) are prominent. History as such figures much less prominently in the NAEP objectives than it does in typical social studies programs; it plays an important role in conjunction with the government objectives and, to a lesser extent, as background for some of the other areas.

A question that has occupied some social studies educators is whether the social studies are, following Wesley, "the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes," or whether the social studies encompass something more than or different from the social sciences. James Shaver has been a particularly vocal proponent of the view that social studies is something more than the social sciences and has stated that Wesley's definition "has perhaps done more to stifle creative curriculum work in the social studies than any other factor" (even though Wesley (1937, p. 6) admonished that "The indiscriminate use of 'social sciences' and 'social studies' as synonyms is to be discouraged"). Shaver feels that social studies should be "concerned with the preparation of citizens for participation in a democratic society"--citizens who "can intelligently perceive and reflect upon the critical issues facing the society . . . Social studies curriculum builders must . . . draw on sources of concepts other than the social sciences if the intellectual skills taught are to be adequate to the demands of political-ethical controversy" (Shaver 1967, pp. 588-590, 592). Excessive reliance on the social sciences for social studies content "leads to inadequate attention to the feeling, humanistic elements of citizenship, and to the needs of ethical decision-making that go beyond scientific empiricism." What is needed is "a shift in emphasis from concern with social science data, generalizations, and reasoning to a concern with values and political-ethical decision-making" (Shaver 1977a, pp. 305, 307).

Shaver's view that social studies does or should promote a commitment to citizen participation in society and to a set of democratic values appropriate to such participation--characteristics which are seen as absent from the social sciences--is reflected in the 1979 NCSS guidelines:

> The notion that the disciplines must always be studied in their pure form or that social studies content should be drawn only from the social sciences is insufficient for a curriculum intended to demonstrate the relationship

> between knowledge and rationally-based social participation . . . Social studies is something more than the sum of the social sciences.
>
> Many kinds of knowledge are important contenders for inclusion in social studies . . . Ideally, then, various sources of knowledge, including the social sciences, the humanities, the natural sciences, the communication media, and the perceptions of students would all contribute to the social studies program.
> ("Revision . . . " 1979, p. 263)

There can be little doubt that the rhetoric of the social sciences, as the subject matter of teaching and research in colleges and universities, and the rhetoric of the social studies, as shown in numerous statements of goals and objectives, are quite different. While objectives related to knowledge and skills are not dissimilar, the common social studies objectives related to values and participation are seldom expounded in the halls of academe. The practice, however, may differ somewhat less than the rhetoric. As Morrissett (1979) has pointed out, a great many (perhaps the vast majority) of social studies teachers give only lip service (and perhaps not that) to goals related to values and participation, while at least a small minority of college professors of social science are deeply concerned about social and personal values and social participation.

Skills

It is difficult to draw a sharp line between "knowledge" and "skills." Defined (as it has been) as "all that has been perceived or grasped by the mind," knowledge swallows up skills and much more. But educators usually make a distinction between knowledge, closely related to memorization, and skills, referring to finding, organizing, and making use of knowledge.

The well-known Taxonomy of Educational Objectives; Handbook I: Cognitive Domain, edited by Benjamin Bloom, presents an extremely useful and well-thought-out distinction between "knowledge," in this narrower sense, and other aspects of cognition:

> Knowledge as defined here includes those behaviors and test situations which emphasize the remembering, either by recognition or recall, of ideas, material, or phenomena (Bloom 1956, p. 62).

Knowledge in the Bloom taxonomy does not refer only to knowledge of facts, as it is sometimes interpreted. It also includes knowledge of terminology, methods of inquiry, classification methods, methodology, principles, generalizations, theories, structures, and much more. But it includes only recognition and recall of these elements, not the finding, organizing, and using of them; these processes are encompassed in the other five stages of the taxonomy--comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.

The Bloom taxonomy enjoyed great popularity in the 1960s and into the 1970s, in the heyday of the new social studies, and has unfortunately fallen into disuse in recent years; the Connecticut guide (1981, pp. IV-3 and IV-4) makes one of the few current references to the taxonomy. Nevertheless, it has had a lasting impact, in somewhat truncated form. The frequent references to "higher levels" of learning often stem from the distinction made in the Bloom taxonomy between knowledge (recognition and recall) and the uses of knowledge described in the other five levels. Much of what Bloom included in the "cognitive domain" at levels two through six has slipped over into the "skills" category in many listings of objectives.

Lists and classifications of skills are legion. "Thinking skills essential to the social studies (are) grouped into four major categories" in the 1981 NCSS "Essentials of Social Studies." The result represents a typical listing of skills:

> Data Gathering Skills. Learning to
> - Acquire information by observation
> - Locate information from a variety of sources
> - Compile, organize, and evaluate information
> - Extract and interpret information
> - Communicate orally and in writing
>
> Intellectual Skills. Learning to
> - Compare things, ideas, events, and situations on the bases of similarities and differences
> - Classify or group items in categories
> - Ask appropriate and searching questions
> - Draw conclusions or inferences from evidence
> - Arrive at general ideas
> - Make sensible predictions from generalizations
>
> Decision Making Skills. Learning to
> - Consider alternative solutions
> - Consider the consequences of each solution

Make decisions and justify them in relationship
   to democratic principles
Act, based on those decisions

Interpersonal Skills. Learning to
- See things from the point of view of others
- Understand one's own beliefs, feelings. abilities, and shortcomings and how they affect relations with others
- Use group generalizations without stereotyping and arbitrarily classifying individuals
- Recognize value in individuals different from one's self and groups different from one's own
- Work effectively with others as a group member
- Give and receive constructive criticism
- Accept responsibility and respect the rights and property of others

("Essentials . . . " 1981)

The 1981-1982 NAEP citizenship and social studies objectives cover much the same scope. Wiley lists 22 similar social studies skills objectives drawn from a broad group of curriculum guides (1977, Appendix, pp. 21-23). The California framework (1981, pp. 7-8) lists 21 skill objectives under three general headings of "study or basic skills," "intellectual or critical/creative thinking skills," and "interpersonal or social participation skills." Many similar lists, both shorter and longer, have been compiled.

More focused and organized than the various lists of intellectual or thinking skills are the various "models of thinking, inquiry, (and) decision making," described by Nelson and Michaelis (1980, pp. 91-94). As these authors note, Dewey's How We Think (1933) was a precursor to most such models.

"Reflective thought" was described in the popular methods text of Hunt and Metcalf (1955 and 1968) as a five-step process: (1) recognition and definition of a problem; (2) formulation of hypotheses; (3) elaboration of logical implications of hypotheses; (4) testing of hypotheses; and (5) drawing a conclusion. In slightly modified forms, this approach was identified as "inquiry" in the new social studies era and employed most prominently in both the theory and practice of the new social studies by Edwin Fenton (1967).

In the 1970s, "decision making" replaced inquiry in popularity. Much of the discussion of decision making harks back to a 1960 article by Engle. One of its most extensive elaborations is in the 1977 yearbook of NCSS, *Developing Decision-Making Skills* (Kurfman 1977). In this publication, Cassidy and Kurfman (1977, pp. 4-5) distinguish decision making from inquiry: inquiry is concerned with "making decisions about meaning and truth--deciding whether information is correct, deciding how one factor is related to another factor, perhaps as cause and effect." Decision making "entails a value judgment, . . . with deciding the best thing to do . . . Practice in making value-laden decisions is necessary to meet both personal and civic needs." Cassidy and Kurfman quote Engle's urging "to emphasize decision making at two levels: at the level of deciding what a group of descriptive data means, how these data may be summarized or generalized, what principles they suggest; and also decision making at the level of policy determination, which requires a synthesis of facts, principles, and values . . ." (Engle 1960). They identify inquiry with Engle's first level, decision making with the second.

Despite strong pleas for substantial classroom use of inquiry (for example, Hagen and Stansberry 1969) and decision-making skills (Kurfman 1977), use of such methods appears to be relatively slight. Examples from the Illinois case studies are probably typical:

> I noted that the teachers we talked with (particularly the elementary and junior high teachers), seemed not at all sensitive to the fact that competent and effective implementation of the better inquiry-oriented science and social science curricula might have the potential of significantly upgrading both the language skills . . . and arithmetic skills of the children (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:35).
>
> The teacher we found at the secondary level was not a "model inquirer." He or she tended to ignore details of the discussion, of the materials or data, which did not lend themselves to the scheduled interpretation. The students and their parents were comfortable, we believe, with the idea that the lesson was not aimed at raising a creative challenge or promoting critical thinking--but for discovering what others have discovered, understanding what experts have come to accept as standard conceptualization or theory (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:5).

Teachers sometimes admit that they do not feel at home in the area of inquiry, critical thinking, or decision making. More frequently, they note that such processes are time-consuming; they feel under pressure to "cover the material" of the course, guided by textbooks that are not typically devoted to inquiry or decision making.

Values

Values comprise the third common goal of social studies. Some form of values education has always been closely related to social studies. The study of U.S. history--more so in the past than in the present--has always been associated with instilling patriotic values. Perhaps to a lesser degree, the study of U.S. government has always been associated with the development of positive attitudes toward our democratic government.

Citizenship education, universally accepted as a part, if not the whole, of social studies, always means good citizenship. In addition to being rational and participative, students should be "humane" ("Revision . . . " 1979, p. 262; California Department of Education 1981, p. 1) and should have "positive commitments in thought and action to the democratic values of the liberal political community" (Butts 1980, p. 118).

Another type of values education, less explicitly proclaimed but more consistently practiced than citizenship education, is the inculcation of values that are conducive to the orderly operation of schools, including respect and consideration for teachers, school authorities, and peers. The prevalence of such inculcation is indicated by the Illinois case studies.

> (W)e found a high level of covert moral instruction. It was accomplished partly through ritual, some of which is unique to the school (e.g., testing, reporting attendance, asking permission to leave the room) and some of which is common to the culture (e.g., saying please and thank you, waiting your turn in cafeteria lines).
>
> We considered an act ritualistic if certain aspects of its performance had no direct relationship to the recognized or stated goal of the activity (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:33).

The teaching of values related to citizenship and school behavior is as old as education. More recently, particularly dating from the 1960s and the new social studies, the exploration and teaching of values has broadened substantially. Values are now an explicit part of almost every statement of social studies goals and objectives.

The 1981 NCSS "Essentials" statement lists six "democratic beliefs . . . rooted in the concepts of justice, equality, responsibility, freedom, diversity, and privacy." The 1981 California Framework presents a somewhat more elaborate guide to values:

> Drawing on ideas suggested by the motto to which the United States long has subscribed, *e pluribus unum*, one of America's respected scholars, R. Freeman Butts, has classified those values or principles into two general types:
>
> 1. Those which seem primarily to promote desirable cohesive and unifying elements in a democratic political community, or the *unum* values. Among them are these:
>
>   - Justice
>   - Equality
>   - Truth
>   - Authority
>   - Responsibility
>   - Participation
>   - Respect for persons and property
>   - Personal obligation for the public good
>
> 2. Those which seem primarily to promote desirable pluralistic and individualistic elements in a democratic political community, or the *pluribus* values. Among them are these:
>
>   - Diversity
>   - Privacy
>   - Freedom
>   - Due process
>   - Human rights
>
> There is a continuing tension, sometimes overt conflict, between the values of *unum* and the values of *pluribus*. Even so, American democracy historically and presently is committed to honoring and promoting both.
>
> (California Department of Education 1981, pp. 8-9)

Drawing on a dozen-plus curriculum guides and similar publications, Wiley (1978, Appendix, pp. 17-20) listed 25 "social studies attitude objectives" that were prominent during the period 1955-1975, including, for example, patriotism, respect for laws and authority, honesty, responsibility, respect for elders, and tolerance. The 1981-1982 NAEP objectives do not focus very specifically on values; scattered among the 200 or so specific objectives are a dozen or two that might be labeled as values objectives, mainly falling under the headings of "skills necessary to communicate with others" (pp. 8-10), "commitment to human rights worldwide" (pp. 14-15), and "commitment to support justice and rights of all individuals" (pp. 20-21).

In sharp contrast to the lists of values that are contained in many guides are various highly structured approaches to values education that have been developed in the past two decades. First among these is *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Education Goals. Handbook II: Affective Domain*, by Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia (1964). This publication, parallel to the Bloom cognitive taxonomy, presents a hierarchy of values--receiving, responding, valuing, organization, and characterization by a value or value complex--which culminates in "the peak of the internalization process" of a set of values (Krathwohl, Bloom, and Masia 1964, pp. 95, 170).

Invention and discussion of values education approaches flourished throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Superka (1976) identified and illustrated seven approaches: inculcation, moral development, analysis, clarification, action learning, evocation, and union. Inculcation is the oldest and most-used of these, characterized by efforts to mold attitudes and behavior while giving little or no attention to examination of the values implicit in the attitudes and behavior. "Analysis," associated especially with the names of Oliver, Shaver, Newmann, and Metcalf (Oliver and Newmann 1967-1972; Oliver and Shaver 1966; Newmann and Oliver 1970; Metcalf 1971), flourished in the era of the new social studies, at which time the "values clarification" approach of Raths, Harmin, and Simon (1978) also achieved popularity.

The values education system that has received the most attention in recent years is that of Lawrence Kohlberg. Kohlberg explains that his system is an extension of three levels of moral development postulated by John Dewey and three similar stages of moral development supported by the empirical work of Jean Piaget. Kohlberg elaborated the three stages into six:

I. Preconventional level
    Stage 1: The punishment-and-obedience orientation
    Stage 2: The instrumental-relativist orientation

II. Conventional level
Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy--nice girl" orientation
Stage 4: The "law and order" orientation
III. Postconventional, autonomous, or principled level
Stage 5: The social-contract, legalistic orientation
Stage 6: The universal-ethical-principle orientation

(Kohlberg 1975)

Over a period of years, Kohlberg marshaled a substantial body of empirical evidence to support his claim that these stages "form an invariant sequence" in which movement is always forward (or upward), never backward (or downward). Individuals never skip stages; movement is always to the next stage up. Further, "Thinking at a higher stage includes or comprehends within it lower-stage thinking. There is a tendency to function at or prefer the highest stage available" (Kohlberg 1975, p. 128).

Despite the heavy intellectual investment made in the various approaches to values education, social studies has not been greatly influenced by these highly structured approaches. There were, however, noticeable effects. Consideration of values became more explicit, exploration of values was legitimated to a certain extent, and a wider range of values found its way into many curriculum guides.

The increased interest in values as a part of social studies, and particularly the greater presence of values in statements of goals, has resulted in relatively little conflict within schools or between schools and communities over value issues. This may be attributable in part to the desire to avoid the kinds of controversies that have arisen in a few notable instances, of which the MACOS conflict is a prominent example (Conlan 1976; Dow 1975). Probably a more important reason is the lack of conflict between values held by teachers and values held by the communities in which they teach. The Illinois case studies throw light on this matter:

> One would expect more opportunity in the social studies than in the natural sciences, and certainly more than in mathematics, to consider value-laden and controversial subject matter. But even in the social studies we did not find serious controversy over teacher presentations within the communities we visited. The handling of "taboo" topics was not one of the issues that concerned people we talked with . . . . Teachers were strong advocates of "American values" in all three subject areas (Stake and Easley, p. 12:37).

> There is much potential for controversy in social studies--yet little controversy was found . . . We found essentially no "academic freedom" or "censorship" problems (Stake and Easley, pp. 13:32, 12:29).

Participation

"Participation" is a relative newcomer to the ranks of major goal clusters in social studies. It has long existed in the belief that "learning by doing" is an effective way of learning and that participation is the duty of a good citizen, but this did not formerly qualify it as a major goal. The addition of participation to the list of major goals can be attributed primarily to the insistence of some leading social studies educators that the traditional commitment of social studies to citizenship be strengthened by more realistic preparation for and practice of active participation in public affairs.

The 1979 NCSS revised guidelines and the 1981 NCSS "Essentials" statement present an interesting contrast. The latter refers to "participation skills" without explicitly mentioning action outside the classroom, stating that

> To teach participation, social studies programs need to emphasize the following kinds of skills:
>
> Work effectively in groups--organizing, planning, making decisions, taking actions
> Form coalitions of interest with other groups
> Persuade, compromise, bargain
> Practice patience and perseverance in working for one's goals
> Develop experience in cross-cultural situations.
>
> ("Essentials . . ." 1981)

The 1979 guidelines give "social participation" as the goal, with a clear emphasis on application outside the classroom:

> Social participation in a democracy calls for individual behavior . . . directed toward the resolution of problems confronting society. The practices of the school and particularly of social studies programs have not provided for active and systematic student participation . . . A commitment to democratic participation suggests that the school abandon futile efforts to insulate pupils from social reality and, instead, find ways to involve them as active citizens.

> Social participation should mean the application of knowledge, thinking, and commitment in the social arena--at the local, state, national, and international levels . . .
>
> Extensive involvement by students of all ages in the activities of their community is essential. Many of these activities may be in problem areas held, at least by some, to be controversial. The involvement may take the form of observation or information-seeking, such as field trips, attending meetings, and interviews. It may take the form of political campaigning, community service or improvement, or even responsible demonstrations. The school should not only provide channels for such activities, but build them into the design of its K-12 social studies program.
>
> ("Revision . . ." 1979, p. 266)

One of the most ardent proponents of such a civic action approach is Fred Newmann. In a 1975 book, he presents a strong rationale for his approach. He begins with an analysis of the "pitfalls of citizenship education," stating that

> The notion of citizen participation has been defined in such a way that educational practice neglects the most crucial component in democratic theory: the right of each citizen to exert influence in (in contrast to "thinking critically about" or "taking an active interest in") public affairs (Newmann 1975, p. 4).

Newmann goes on to "offer a systematic rationale for exerting influence in public affairs as a central priority in secondary schools," and in a later book he further proposes "a voluntary year-long program in the 11th or 12th grade, where students would spend almost full time in the citizen action program" (Newmann, Bertocci, and Landsness 1977, p. 9). Newmann's work, which is based on a firm background of scholarship and of experimental work with students in the area of citizen action, presents a strong challenge to the rhetoric of citizenship education.

In an article on "Goals for Political and Social Participation," Gerald Marker (1980) shows that some kind of participation has long been on the agenda of social studies and describes some of the forces that have increased attention to it in recent years. He goes on to state that the rationale for education in citizen participation has been strongly built (by Newmann and others) and that adequate materials for such an educational effort have been developed during the 1970s. The problem now to be faced is one of implementation; on this issue he takes a pessimistic view regarding possible progress:

> The type of curriculum described by Newmann et al. (1977) requires considerable investment of time and energy on the part of the teacher. Student involvement in the community requires numerous "arrangements" by teachers; community agencies need to be contacted, transportation arranged, evening meetings monitored, etc. It is certainly possible that such efforts "fall of their own weight"; teachers find that they cannot keep up such a pace with the typical five-class day (Marker 1980, pp. 78-79).

Beyond the problems of logistics, Marker points to more basic problems. Noting the "bureaucratic structures" and "authoritarian" nature of schools, he states that

> There is little question that students can be taught skills such as data gathering and analysis, how to play various group roles, or how to operate a voting machine. But given the power of the overall school climate on basic attitudes, it may be quite another thing to get students to seriously assume the role of participating, responsible citizens when their school environments are highly authoritarian and undemocratic (Marker 1980, p. 79).

"Is it possible," Marker asks, "that our lack of success in this area is partly a function of setting unrealistic goals for ourselves?"

The Neglected Goal: The Joy of Learning

While "joy of learning" might be subsumed under the general goal of values and attitudes, we believe it deserves special attention as an important--and neglected--goal. Under the burden of endless lists of goals and objectives, most of them unattained and possibly unattainable, students and teachers alike may forget that learning can be a joyful experience. Most five- and six-year olds go to school with a sense of eager anticipation of new learning experiences. The elan lasts through the primary grades, possibly longer, but eventually fades under the burden of routine and bureaucracy. By the time the five-year-olds become teachers, administrators, and curriculum developers, many have forgotten their joyful anticipation of learning--or perhaps they don't dare to mention one more impossible ideal.

Unique among curriculum guides, Program Improvement for Social Studies Education in Wisconsin states that

> Joy is the mainspring of human experiences. Without joy or hope, there is no incentive for learning, for the impulse to learn presupposes confidence in the possibility of improving one's existence--it presupposes faith in the future . . .
>
> Social studies education is, in essence, a search--a continuous search for love, beauty, truth, faith and justice in everyday life. It is a process which brings meaning to a person's life, allowing the individual to see life differently with sensitive eyes that behold the fullness of what it means to be human (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction 1977, p. 36).

The Wisconsin guide, like Edwin Fenton's text, Humanities in Three Cities (now unfortunately out of print), poses the questions, "What is the good society? . . . What is the good person? . . . What is the good life?" Few social studies guides or materials point to joyful learning as a part of the good life.

Somehow, some critics say, our educational institutions fail to nurture the joy of learning and the natural motivation to learn:

> . . . a child is born motivated to learn . . . Learning, in humans, can readily be blocked, impeded, discouraged, or fostered, facilitated, encouraged . . . But the one thing we don't have to do is motivate . . . We do not need to urge children to use their brains. Our big task is to get out of their way (Hart 1975, pp. 34, 35, 39).

Alfred Kuhn, in discussing "self-actualization," refers to

> . . . the simple desire to use our abilities and faculties . . . This often means doing for the sake of doing: making for the sake of making, . . . playing for the sake of playing, learning for the sake of learning . . . (Kuhn 1975, p. 67).

One is reminded of the ridicule sometimes heaped upon teachers who teach "history for the sake of history," which could be a rightful condemnation of mindless teaching or a terribly wrongful condemnation of an effort to instill in students the joy of learning.

Learning as a psychological need is a part of the rationale given by Newmann to support his goal of "environmental competence"; he says

> . . . the ability to affect the environment . . . is . . . central to fulfilling a fundamental psychological need . . . (C)ognitive psychological theory . . . has identified a persistent human tendency, beginning in early childhood, to explore, manipulate, and exert impact on one's environment (Newmann 1975, p. 33).

It is doubtful that many social studies educators would *object* to the inclusion of joy as a major goal of the social studies (and of all education). Perhaps they see it as just another impossible ideal.

Socialization or Social Change?

It has frequently been noted that "socialization" is a major goal of social studies. The term appears in the literature, although not as such in statements of goals and objectives. It is often presented in a negative sense, at least in part--meaning society's efforts to train young people so that they will fit into society and not make trouble, an approach that may include regimentation, indoctrination, and avoidance of educational tasks that stimulate creative, critical, or original thinking.

Socialization is closely related to "Citizenship Transmission" and to "Conservative Cultural Continuity," concepts elaborated in a preceding section of this paper. Here we elaborate on the positive and negative aspects of the concept of socialization as it has been treated in the literature.

A certain amount of socialization is warranted for every society. A certain degree of orderly behavior, of adherence to behavioral norms, is necessary for the preservation of society. The big question is, to what extent should young people be fitted into existing behavioral patterns?

The Illinois case studies, referring to "socialization as a preemptive aim," show the great concern on the part of teachers and administrators for order in the schools:

> Each teacher had a somewhat different set of purposes, but the most common and vigorously defended purpose was that of socialization. It was intimately related to observance of the mores of the community, submitting personal inclinations to the needs of the community, conforming to the role of "good student," and getting ready for the next rung on the educational ladder. Of

> course there were great differences among teachers as to how they stress and interpret socialization (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:5).
>
> Putting it in a nutshell, most teachers seem to treat subject matter knowledge as evidence of, and subject materials as a means to, socialization of the individual in school . . . The more stern socializers promoted subordination, discipline, a "protestant work ethic," cheerfulness, competitiveness, and heavy investment in getting students "prepared" (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 16:24-25).
>
> Large proportions, 29 percent principals and 42 percent teachers said teaching children to be considerate, respectful and to follow directions is more important than having students understand subject matter content; almost none said it was less important (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:108).

The immediate concern of teachers and administrators, as indicated by these quotations, is for orderly behavior of students in school. This is related to much that has been written about the "hidden curriculum," described as a covert effort, conscious or unconscious, to train students to be docile, unquestioning, obedient participants in both school life and adult life (see especially Fielding 1981).

A rather extreme and not-so-covert example of efforts to shape young minds in socially-approved directions comes from an advertisement for an elementary text in the 1920s: it was claimed that What to Do for Uncle Sam, presented as "A First Book of Citizenship for American Boys and Girls,"

> . . . in the hands of your boys and girls will help prevent the spread of Bolshevism and socialism. Remember that the boys and girls of today are the citizens of tomorrow.

The concern about the nature and degree of socialization goes back to the very beginnings of education, in antiquity. It is a major focus of Merle Curti's The Social Ideas of American Educators (1959), which follows this theme from Horace Mann through John Dewey. An especially sharp contrast in approaches to socialization early in this century is pointed out by Hazel Hertzberg (1981). She describes an extreme version of "social control" advocated by David Snedden, whose career included serving as a rural school teacher, as a principal and superintendent in California, and as commissioner of education for Massachusetts.

> Taking the juvenile reform school as his educational model, Snedden conceived of all schools as unparalleled instruments of social control, hierarchically organized, scientifically managed, offering separate education for "producers" ("the rank and file"), who were to receive a vocational education, and "consumers," who were to receive Snedden's version of a liberal education (Hertzberg 1981, p. 17).

Snedden's views find many echos throughout the years and more particularly in recent years:

> (A) comprehensive program of civic education must change the hidden curriculum as well as the overt curriculum. The hidden curriculum involves all the institutional arrangements from which students learn in school. These arrangements include the ways in which school rules are made and enforced, the ways in which teachers and administrators use their power and their ability to praise or sanction, and the ways in which the sheer size of large, impersonal schools affects students' learning. In many schools the hidden curriculum denies what formal courses in civic education affirm (Fenton 1977, p. 118).

More caustically than Fenton, David Gil paints a bitter picture of socialization in the schools as he sees it:

> (O)ur society requires settings and processes of socialization to prepare entire generations of children to fit smoothly and willingly into the many layers and positions of its skilled and unskilled, professional and managerial work force, and its unemployed and underemployed labor reserve. This preparation must accomplish several objectives. First, the rich, innate intellectual and emotional capacities and creativity of most children . . . must be suppressed selectively, since the prevailing work--and nonwork--systems have little use for these capacities and creativity (Gil 1981, pp. 117-118).

A broad and scholarly view of the writers and ideas associated with the concept of a hidden curriculum has been presented by Fielding (1981). He identifies at least two meanings of the term. The "hidden curriculum of assessment" refers to

> the messages associated with the means students find they must use in order to gain high grades and other academic awards . . . to get the highest possible grades with the least possible effort . . . mastery of a set of tasks which may have very little to do with learning or even with real knowledge (Fielding 1981, p. 112).

The "hidden curriculum of schooling" refers to methods by which "the most basic and powerful cultural lessons of Western society are taught." It "consists of a set of rules, routines, and procedures designed to mold individual behavior to the requirements of institutional living . . . a set of tacit norms, values, and dispositions." The hidden curriculum teaches that "passive acceptance is a more desirable response to ideas than active criticism" and that "the voice of authority is to be trusted and valued more than independent judgment" (Fielding 1981, pp. 116-118).

Fielding notes that teachers "need not consciously acquiesce" in "the functions of the hidden curriculum . . . since the performance of the functions of the hidden curriculum is made an essential, not a voluntary, part of teaching by the structural context of their teaching." And he points to the hidden curriculum as one of the reasons why students, particularly less-privileged students, rebel against schooling (Fielding 1981, p. 115).

A version of social control quite different from that of Snedden was advocated by John Dewey. While Snedden took the reform school as his model, Dewey

> took an idealized community as his model for the school, looking to a society that would be "worthy, lovely, and harmonious." The school would be permeated with "the spirit of art, history, and science," saturating the child with "the spirit of service" and "providing him with the instruments of self-direction." In building the open and democratic society that he envisioned, Dewey asserted that social efficiency in the broadest sense was "nothing less than the socialization of mind which is actively concerned in making experiences more communicable; in breaking down the barriers of social stratification which make individuals impervious to the interests of others" (Hertzberg 1981, pp. 17-18).

Whereas the socialization concerns of teachers and administrators are directed toward good behavior in the schools, as illustrated in the Stake and Easley report, both Snedden and Dewey point toward the concern of many educators for socialization in school that will affect adult life--Snedden pointing to a regimented, lockstep role for most citizens, Dewey envisioning education that would produce a quite different type of socialization, adults prepared to live in harmony, but with an open and creative spirit.

Compatible with the Dewey outlook, Charles Beard pointed to two reasons for tempering socialization with encouragement of critical and creative thought. The first is the need for students to be prepared to meet uncertainties and new situations in the future--uncertainties and situations that cannot be predicted by the wisest of educators:

> No scheme of instruction can vividly portray to pupils all the coming situations of their lives in which they must make fateful decisions . . . Hence the inevitable necessity for laying emphasis on freedom of opinion and the liberation of intelligence . . . (Beard 1932, p. 116).

The second reason for critical and creative thought described by Beard focuses on society's need to develop leadership:

> Practically all systems of civic training lay stress on conformity, discipline, regimentation. To a considerable extent they must do so to survive; but in this development there is a tendency to lose sight of the fact that the cultivation of independence in judgment among citizens is also necessary to survival. This is not merely in the interest of the individual himself; it redounds in the long run to the interest of the group . . . A civilization that does not have leaders to point out new paths, to explore untried regions, sinks in stagnation. . . For these and other reasons a program of social studies must reassert the significance of criticism and inventiveness as a potent force for progress and a condition precedent to survival (Beard 1932, pp. 110-112).

While the schools have placed little stress on preparing students for social change, advocates have continued to press for movement in that direction, mostly with little effect. Curti (1959) described the history of some of these efforts to the mid-20th century, including the efforts of such critics as Henry George, Henry D. Lloyd, Charles Judd, and particularly George Counts and Theodore Brameld. Counts's Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order? (1932) is one of the most explicit pleas for the social mission of schools. Brameld, whose writings extended from the early 1930s through the 1960s, was credited by Curti as "the most vigorous and original exponent of the idea that education could and should improve the social order" (Curti 1959, p. xxxiii). Among current writers, Fred Newmann (1975, 1977) stands out as an advocate of educating for social change.

The Illinois case studies present a convincing view of the current status of social change efforts in the schools.

> Paradoxically, schools are the agents of change and the deterrents to change. The communities we visited are troubled in many ways, would like relief from their troubles, and occasionally see the schools as a potential contributor to the relief. . . . Few people in the schools we visited are interested in creating a new society (Stake and Easley 1978, p.17:22).

Referring to the cold war, civil rights, poverty, and desegregation, Stake and Easley state that

> The idea of making the schools the instrument for adapting to social change may overestimate the schools' ability to remedy social ills (p. 17:22).
>
> This is not to suggest that the schools should not be participating or even leading in the efforts of a nation to improve itself . . . but our visits to eleven sites helped persuade us that too much of the improvement of our society was being assigned to the schools--and the school people were resistant to the assignment (p. 17:23).
>
> Most teachers feel that there is not much the schools can do to bring about social improvement. . . . The schools could scarcely keep up with social changes, let alone lead the change toward the better or head off the change toward the worse (p. 17:25).

The Multiplicity of Goals and Objectives

When one turns from the general goals described to this point and considers the more detailed goals and objectives that elaborate the general goals, an abundance of lists, long and short, is found. They have been developed as a part of local district guides and state guides, as parts of general aids or guides to curriculum building, and for assessment purposes.

The typical guide starts with a description of the general goals of knowledge, skills, and values or attitudes, usually now including also participation (with a variety of meanings, as described above). Below each of these general goals is a hierarchy of objectives, which may run into the dozens or the hundreds. Frequently the objectives are lists of topics; sometimes they are guides to suggested procedures.

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The NCSS 1981 "Essentials" statement lists half a dozen or so topics or objectives under its four major goals. Its 1979 guidelines, after describing the four general goals, lists more than 60 specific objectives, in nine subgroups. These are mostly procedural rather than substantive objectives; for example, "Students should be involved in the formulation of goals." The 1981 draft California Framework describes the general content of "knowledge," lists three general types of "skills" and 21 more specific skill objectives, lists 19 values, and describes the nature of desired social participation along with five specific goals. The NAEP 1981-1982 Citizenship and Social Studies Objectives (1980) include almost 200 specific objectives, in a three-tier hierarchy. School-district guides or syllabi are more likely than other kinds of guides to take the form of listings by grade level and/or by subjects.

An extreme case of energy, ingenuity, and structure demonstrated by producers of lists of objectives is the Tri-County (Oregon) Goal Development Project (1976). This publication contains a ten-level structure encompassing approximately 4,700 goals at the most detailed level, cross-referenced and related to 18 major program goals, 11 major course goals, 12 knowledge categories, 79 process categories, 110 social science concepts, and about 160 value categories.

Despite the great number and complexity of lists of objectives that have been generated by hundreds or thousands of independent groups--schools, school districts, state departments of education, national groups, and academics--one suspects that much similarity exists among the various lists. The 1981 NAEP objectives, compiled with the assistance and advice of hundreds of social studies educators, probably represents a fair degree of consensus about the objectives of social studies, to which other lists could be related, differing mainly in the degree of detail.

Whether a diversity of goals is an important problem for social studies educators seems to be debatable. The "identity crisis" described earlier in this report is said to stem from lack of agreement about purpose. Stake and Easley reported that "a strong and vocal portion of teachers and others argued that a list of essentials should be established and set as requirements" (1978, p. 12:1). But Stake and Easley give their own opinion that "differences in perception of the objectives of our schools" is a "non-problem," arguing that most statements of purpose are so general that they do not provoke disagreement and that, in any case, "diverse and even contradictory purposes can be (and regularly are) pursued" (p. 19:34).

The Multiplicity of New Topics

The scope of social studies has expanded throughout the 20th century--slowly at first, then rapidly in recent years. The expansion took the form first of increasing inclusion of more social sciences and then, in recent years, the inclusion of more special topics and problems. In the late 19th century, the field that was to become social studies consisted mostly of history, much of it ancient and western European history (Hertzberg 1981, section 1). As the concept of "social studies" developed, history became more modern and less parochial, the place of government in the curriculum grew, and over the decades somewhat more attention was given to economics and geography. In the past decade or two, sociology, psychology, and anthropology have made modest intrusions.

Much greater than the growth of the social sciences in the social studies curriculum has been the growth of special topics or problems of social concern. This growth can be attributed in part to our society's increased attention to the problems of war and the environment in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but even more to the social thrusts of President Johnson's "Great Society," which resulted in the funding of many new programs of social action, paralleled by funds to bring these concerns into the schools. For these and other reasons, new programs and materials have been developed, many of them falling into the scope of social studies. Included are problems related to minorities (first blacks, then many more), women, international affairs, cities, drugs, law, environment, poverty, aging, consumers, death, values and moral education, and the handicapped.

Both of these trends--the increasing presence of social sciences and of special topics--are reflected to some extent in a study reported by Gross in 1977. Comparing 1973 with 1961, he showed that some of the traditional social studies courses showed enrollments that fell behind (some far behind) the increase in school population, while enrollments in economics and sociology courses were substantially greater than the increase in enrollment and enrollments in psychology were very much greater (Gross 1977, p. 196). The study also showed a minority of schools offering courses in ethnic studies, anthropology, and law. (More often than not, particular special topics are included as parts of existing courses.) While Gross's figures may not quite support his statement that "the traditional pattern of high school social studies offerings . . . has finally been shattered," they do show changes in both of the directions described above. Diversity has increased, but much similarity in course offerings, as well as in course content, remains.

The increase in the scope of social studies has contributed to the multiplicity of goals and objectives. Goals and objectives are often added but seldom dropped.

Scope and Sequence, Multidisciplinarity, and Integration

When social studies educators view the vast scope of disciplines and topics that comprise the social studies, they may be overwhelmed by its immensity. To history and the social sciences, any one of which could absorb all of the time available for social studies in 12 years, have been added a dozen or more special topics, any one of which could fill one or more years of study.

Social studies educators have, of course, recognized the immensity of their task and tried to meet the challenge through various ways of organizing the subject matter. The construction of a "scope and sequence" is a common approach that usually takes the form of prescribing particular topics, organized by more general topics and/or by particular disciplines and by grade level.

The popularity of "conceptual structures," often related to particular disciplines, which was current in the heyday of the new social studies, can be attributed to an effort to rise above the multitudinous facts of any subject area, giving students a framework for selecting, organizing, and understanding a limited number of facts and also for accommodating new problems and facts as they are encountered.

Problem solving, decision making, and inquiry were likewise intended as means of selecting and managing facts, rather than endless learning of facts, putting the focus on how to find, organize, and use factual knowledge.

Another approach that gained currency in the new social studies was "post-holing," a simple recognition of the necessity for being highly selective in choosing facts and concepts which could provide a framework or background for understanding and organizing new knowledge as it was encountered.

Still another means to simplify the vast scope of the social studies has been the dream of an interdisciplinary framework which, while not obliterating the separate disciplines, would show their commonalities and relationships in a way that would simplify the task of learning about them. This hope was expressed long ago by Tryon:

> As long as the material from the field of the social sciences exists in the schools the quest for the most desirable adjustment between the subjects composing the field will continue. The day of isolation is probably gone in theory, even though it still remains in practice. The future will probably see more and more emphasis on the interrelations of the social sciences. This, of course, does not mean that history, political science, economics, and sociology will necessarily disappear as independent subjects of study in the schools. It simply means that as independent subjects each will be expected to live other than a hermitic life. The services of each to all of the others will be central in organizing them for teaching purposes (Tryon 1935, pp. 527-528).

Tryon's hope persists, frequently stated as a goal or characteristic of social studies guides or syllabi, but his prediction is no closer to fulfillment than it was in 1935. The fault lies partly in the insularity of adherents and practitioners of particular disciplines, whose interests are confined by the centripetal forces of their professional associations, which push for greater specialization within disciplines and against interdisciplinary work. Perhaps a truly interdisciplinary approach to history and the social sciences is an intellectual and not just an institutional impossibility, as some have declared. But the lack of effort and interest in solving this basic problem is evidenced by the scant attention given to the frontier work that has been done, particularly that of Alfred Kuhn (1974, 1975).

Historians, whose subject has sometimes been referred to as "the queen of the social sciences," have often suggested that history can and should be the central and organizing subject of the social sciences. As recounted by Hertzberg (1981), history was the principal social subject in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and historians played the major role in shaping the social studies curriculum. While historians may be suspected of special pleading, their case is not entirely unconvincing; freed from the fixation on chronology, historians can and have taken a more eclectic view of the other social sciences as they relate to and enrich history. An eminent scholar who cannot be accused of partiality has put the case:

> Each [social science] contributes to our insight into the world of fact and opinion in which we live and work. Crowning them all is history, which began with the songs of bards and ends in philosophy. . . . Philosophy is what the historian discovers when he stops adding pieces together and inquires how and why things happened and how and why he is arranging his report. So conceived, history can furnish cement to bind all other social disciplines into a workable unity, giving them a patterned background and, by virtue of its basic time element, a dynamic which pertains to the future (Beard 1932, pp. 18-20).

Despite the fact that Stake and Easley, reflecting the day-to-day concerns they observed in schools and classrooms, have declared lack of articulation and lack of interdisciplinary approaches to be "non-problems," asserting that they get "substantial attention but more than is justified" (1978, p. 19:34), many educators continue to be concerned about the lack of well-structured and cumulative learning in social studies.

This consideration of the structure of social studies content has brought us very close to the topic of curriculum organization, which is dealt with in the following paper. We therefore turn now to the penultimate section of this paper--a discussion of how rationales, goals, and objectives can be and are used by social studies educators.

Uses of Rationales, Goals, and Objectives

This report has dealt at length with the nature of rationales, goals, and objectives. Before considering the uses to which these elements of educational planning are and can be put, a brief review may be in order.

Definitions of a rationale for social studies were first considered, pointing to the need to look at the nature of the individual, society, knowledge, values, and learning. It was concluded that there is much confusion in the field about what a rationale is and that the construction of a full and useful rationale for social studies is a very difficult task that has seldom been attempted.

Definitions of social studies were analyzed next. It was suggested that the current concern over defining social studies may be attributable at least in part to the current malaise about the nature and status of education in general and social studies in particular. In any case, definitions are seldom clear-cut definitions that would pass muster with Webster, but are often statements of desirable goals or procedures that are recommended for the social studies.

"Approaches" to social studies were next reviewed--approaches being described as sets of goals, beliefs, and practices logically lying somewhere between definitions and goals and objectives and characterizing the various ways in which social studies can be taught. "Conservative Cultural Continuity" was indicated as the dominant approach, with the "Process of Thinking Reflectively," "Intellectual Aspects of History and/or the Social Sciences," and variants of these as alternatives to the dominant approach. In practice, combinations of the various approaches are used.

The section immediately preceding this one dealt with goals and objectives. The existence of single, dominant, or "overarching" goals was first considered, with citizenship of course standing in first place in this discussion. Whether or not citizenship is put in that role, four major categories of goals are most commonly used as the principal organizers--knowledge, skills (sometimes processes), attitudes or values, and participation (sometimes "social participation"). Other major goals were discussed: the joy of learning as a neglected goal, socialization as a very important but covert goal, and social change as an often-discussed but seldom-practiced goal. This discussion was followed by a brief description of the plethora of listings that have been made of more specific goals and objectives, usually in some hierarchical order, and then a review of efforts that have been made to put order into the vast content of social studies.

Given this picture of rationales, goals, and objectives for the social studies, what is done with them and what can be done with them?

A Pessimistic View

Why does social studies education lack a clear, comprehensive, consensus definition and justification? A number of plausible reasons emerge from the data base for this study. One reason may be that parents and teachers see the chief purpose of social studies education as "socialization," by which they mean both the subtle and overt indoctrination of students in the nation's values or ethos and in its norms and mores (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:5; Shaver et al. 1979, p. 17). This suggests that social studies educators should teach that which conveys the nature of American society in order to insure the social adjustment of the young. Or put another way, teach the young the accumulated cultural heritage of the society to assure cultural continuity. Such a "justification" is by far the most popular (Haas 1979; Fetsko 1979; Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 19:1, 5-6).

A second possible reason is that few social studies educators (mainly a few academicians) are concerned about such seemingly esoteric issues. Teachers of social studies in the schools are more concerned with matters of classroom management, instructional materials and strategies, and very immediate objectives than they are with rationales, goals, general objectives, or scope and sequence (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979; Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 19:34-35).

A third plausible explanation is that social studies educators tend to be rather autonomous in making educational decisions concerning their field. As such, they make practical eclectic choices in piecing together units and courses, usually borrowing freely from a variety of points of view and resources. Such an approach almost defies justification in terms of a consistent rationale (Wiley 1977, p. 277).

Fourth, if the nature of the teacher--his or her beliefs, knowledge, assumptions, and implicit rationale--and the nature and implicit rationale of the textbook are the two central factors in determining what social studies will be for any student or group of students, then comprehensive rationale positions would seem to serve no well-acknowledged useful purpose in social studies education (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979, pp. 6-7).

John Haas has suggested the pessimistic--perhaps cynical--view that rationales, goals, and objectives are not generally intended to form a logical and reasoned chain leading to well-grounded social learning, but rather play political or diversionary roles unrelated to effective classroom practices:

> [I]t is probably the case that each of these components of curriculum (i.e., rationales, goals, and objectives) serves different practical or political purposes and is intended for different audiences. For example, rationales may serve to satisfy philosophers and academicians in their demands for justifications of decisions and practices. Goals may be used as political slogan systems by school administrators to satisfy school board members and parents of students; and objectives may be of value only to teachers and principals who are responsible for the conduct of instruction, or objectives may be formulated and never used except as compliance with bureaucratic procedures (Haas 1981).

Howard Mehlinger sounds a similar note in discussing "gulfs" that separate social studies "leaders" (in quotes because he doubts the reality of their leadership), academic scholars, specialists, and classroom teachers. He writes

> The leaders spend their time cooking up new problems for teachers or dreaming up solutions to problems teachers don't confront. A vivid example of a teacher's non-problem is one surrounding the definition of social studies. College professors enjoy debating this issue through articles and speeches and asserting that little progress can be expected in social studies until teachers address the issue. But for high school . . . teachers, the definition of social studies is not a major concern--or even a minor one (Mehlinger 1981).

The Illinois case studies confirm that social studies teachers have more pressing matters to think about than rationales, goals, objectives, and other matters that concern social studies theorists, such as scope and sequence and the relationship of social studies to the social sciences.

An Optimistic View; or What to Do

In a stern address in 1976, James Shaver, then President of NCSS, lectured the social studies profession on "our mindlessness." He quoted Charles Silberman's Crisis in the Classroom (1970, p. 379, italics Shaver's):

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> "(W)hat is wrong with elementary and secondary education . . . has less to do with incompetence or indifference or venality than with mindlessness."
>
> Silberman goes on to define "mindlessness," by implication, as lack of thought about "purpose, and about the ways in which techniques, content, and organization fulfill or alter purpose" (Shaver 1977a, pp. 301-302).

A case can be made for viewing social studies as a mindless, disjointed morass, in which the various players are engaged in exercises that are largely unrelated to each other and have a negligible and/or unknown effect on what students learn. But, while there may be truth in that position, it is much too extreme. Many resources are at hand: wisdom old and new that can be mined from a century of critical and creative thought and literature about social studies, and many dedicated people, at all levels of education, who have hope and energy for continued improvement in social studies including, perhaps, the courage to strike out in new directions. The purpose of this section is to suggest some of the resources and directions that educators should consider as they think about the rationales, goals, and objectives of social studies.

1. Recognition of realities. The barriers to thoughtful, cooperative, and continuing work on rationales, goals, and objectives as a part of curriculum planning are formidable: everyday duties, community pressures, lack of continuity in planning efforts, organizational and academic jealousies, and much else. A positive approach requires recognition of these realities, so that the modest progress that can be made will not be subverted by the realities. It also requires that the scarce resources for thinking and planning be used judiciously. The Illinois case studies illustrate one kind of poor usage of resources--setting teachers to work on tasks in which they do not believe; in this case, writing behavioral objectives and constructing accountability procedures (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:114-125, 121-122). While participation is an important part of curriculum planning efforts, it can be worse than useless if participants lack the required time, interest, or ability.

2. Communication. While there may be a regrettable lack of communication and integration among the different acts and actors on the social studies scene, opportunities for communication are many; better use of the existing opportunities would increase communication even more.

There is communication within schools, in inservice programs, in professional meetings, in many informal contexts, and through journals and books. The participants in these many forms of communication have a great deal of collective academic learning, experience, folk knowledge, and common sense, all of which could be better mobilized for a continued effort to improve our thinking about rationales, goals, and objectives as means to better curriculum planning and implementation.

3. Publishers. The importance of textbooks for classroom practice has been documented by Stake and Easley and others. While textbooks may give lip service to high-level generalizations about rationales, goals, and objectives espoused by social studies theoreticians, the content of texts is not closely related to most of those goals. It is most closely related to low-level knowledge goals. Publishers produce what teachers on textbook committees are willing to buy, and teachers are generally willing to buy only the kinds of texts they have been accustomed to using.

Mehlinger (1981, pp. 252ff) describes the "gulf" that separates classroom teachers from social studies "leaders." Publishers and teachers, on their side of the gulf, attend to what the teachers are willing to use, rather than to what "leaders," on the other side of the gulf, say should be contained in texts. Perhaps one of the most useful things that can be done to improve social studies is to improve communication among classroom teachers, textbook publishers, and social studies theoreticians--on the basis of democratic participation by all three groups.

4. Use of history. Many efforts to improve education go forth without sufficient knowledge of previous similar efforts. Hazel Hertzberg (1981) has prepared for Project SPAN an overview of social studies reform efforts that goes far toward enlightening us about previous change efforts. Readers can learn much about the work of reformers who could have profited from knowledge of the failures and successes of previous work.

5. Use of guides to curriculum design. We are not lacking in well-thought-out guides to how to design curricula and the place of rationales, goals, and objectives in such designs. Reference to these should be a part of any curriculum improvement effort. Useful contribu-

tions to curriculum design have been made by Tyler (1950), Taba (1962), Doll (1970), Davis and Haley (1977), and Pratt (1980).

6. Work with rationales. Despite the difficulties and seemingly esoteric nature of rationales, they should not be neglected. Much is known that is not being used about the nature of students, society, knowledge, values, and learning. Whether sporadic and piecemeal or integrated and holistic, efforts to improve and use rationales should continue at all levels of social studies education.

7. Conceptual structures. The concepts and structures of knowledge are sometimes pictured as a fad that came and went with the new social studies. But concepts, structures, generalizations, and theories are the organizational bases for all knowledge--of history, of the social sciences, of social studies, of education itself. They are the basis both for the organization of all knowledge into meaningful patterns and for the intelligent selection of those small portions of all knowledge that can be incorporated into a particular curriculum.

8. Alternative patterns of scope and sequence. The proliferation of new subjects and topics in social studies has brought about a renewed concern for the whole pattern of social studies--its scope and sequence. Although some changes in scope and sequence have occurred over the decades, as described by Wiley (1977) and Gross (1977), the basic pattern has remained much the same since the 1920s (Superka, Hawke, and Morrissett 1980; Jarolimek 1981). Much of the current distress with the state of social studies is attributable to the pressures exerted by the process of adding new materials and objectives without removing others. But the problem also stems from the antiquity of the dominant pattern of the social studies curriculum, which probably is not as appropriate for the 1980s as it may have been for the 1920s. Recent calls for a reexamination of scope and sequence include those from Schneider (1980) and Mehlinger (1981); NCSS has established a committee to consider the problem of scope and sequence. In such an undertaking, it is essential that careful consideration be given to (1) revisions of the current, dominant pattern, (2) an alternative pattern or patterns, including radically different patterns, and (3) the possibility of coexistence of two or more patterns that differ substantially from one another.

9. Interdisciplinary work. Despite the dearth of attention given to relationships among the disciplines by the college and university community, precollege social studies educators are forced to think about the relationships among the disciplines and have in fact done much to relate the disciplines to each other, however ineptly. This work must be continued within the social studies, in the context of formulating and relating rationales, goals, and objectives to the curriculum. Difficult as it is to construct an intellectual base for this effort, some resources are available, including, for example, the work of Alfred Kuhn (1974, 1975), Lawrence Senesh (1967), and Kenneth Boulding (1973, 1980, 1981).

10. Probable futures. Quite a few materials have been written about the future as a special topic of study in social studies. Much less has been written about how the future will affect social studies, but this is an important focus for social studies educators. The content of social studies should change, not only to bring students abreast of the world today, but to prepare them for changes in the future. Even more important may be the possible future changes in the methods of education, including social studies. The revolution in electronics, for example, is almost certain to bring about radical changes in methods of teaching and learning--perhaps in a few years, certainly within a hundred years.

11. A national commission on the social studies. Hertzberg (1981) has reviewed the history of committees and commissions that have worked to reshape social studies during the past century. The last such major effort was the so-called "Beard Commission" of the 1930s. Since the 1930s, there have been occasional calls for another such effort. In 1961, for example, the NCSS in cooperation with the American Council of Learned Societies proposed a "commission to evaluate the place of the social studies in the schools and to make recommendations for improving the social studies program." A proposed agenda for the commission was laid out by Alexander Frazier (1962) in the March 1962 issue of Social Education and included the following charges: "Updating of content . . . re-emphasis on disciplines . . . (including) the search for relationships among the social studies . . . development of new frameworks . . . attention to neglected fields . . . handling of "practical problems . . .

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ask old questions once again . . . What does it mean to be fully human? . . . What can be done to help man everywhere become more human?" Most recently, Howard Mehlinger (1981) has made another plea for a "national commission."

Such a commission might bear fruit, but the dangers of wasted resources and bland outcomes are great. The results of past efforts in terms of impact on school practice have, for the most part, not been encouraging. The oft-mentioned 1916 report on social studies (Dunn 1916) was not the result of a single effort, but was built on the preceeding work of 20 years or so; its apparent impact may be attributable to the unique historical circumstances in which it occurred. It is notable, and perhaps discouraging, that the "the Beard Commission," which probably had at its command the greatest economic and intellectual resources of any such effort, ended in profound disagreements among the participants and had little apparent effect on social studies classrooms.

After learning these lessons from history, a national commission might turn its attention to any or all of the other tasks outlined in this section--how to marshal resources for progress in educational improvement in the face of institutional realities; how to improve communication in the profession; helping to lay the basis for an improved set or sets of rationales, goals, and objectives, including needed interdisciplinary work and the improvement of curriculum design efforts; consideration of the effects of probable futures on social studies content and methods; making social studies improvement efforts more continuous and cumulative; and facing the great problems of implementing new ideas, methods, and materials.

12. Continuity and cumulation. In perusing journals in the natural sciences, one is impressed with the cumulative nature of knowledge. Typically, authors are familiar with the relevant literature, one article builds on another, and new names are seldom attached to old ideas just for the sake of novelty. Such is not the case in the literature of social studies and of education in general, where cumulation and continuity are often lacking. The reasons are many and may also apply in various degrees to other areas of knowledge. Foremost among these is the external pressure to publish and the associated internal desire to lengthen one's vita. These pressures often result in attaching new names

to old ideas and the publication of trivia. The pressures may be accompanied by unwillingness to build on the ideas of others and to accept the contributions of others and, perhaps, by a dull suspicion that, in any event, real progress in education is not possible. Mechanisms for making research and development in social studies more continuous and cumulative are needed at all levels--in the school, the district, the state, and colleges and universities. Perhaps a major task for a national commission would be to monitor social studies publications in a search for cumulation of knowledge.

13. Implementation. It is a long way from the construction of rationales, goals, and objectives to curriculum materials to classroom implementation. Probably the most important lesson to be learned from the history of efforts to change the social studies is that persons involved in those efforts have given insufficient attention to the problems of implementation and to the extensive literature that throws light on those problems. Attention must be given to all the links in the chain from rationale to classroom practice, which means tackling a difficult intellectual task, accompanied by patient efforts directed by the best available knowledge about how to bring about institutional changes. Included in the recent and useful literature on educational change are the studies by Havelock (1971), Sikorski (1976), and Berman and McLaughlin (1978).

These admonitions make up an extensive and demanding agenda, but one that can be useful in bringing work on rationales, goals, and objectives into a reasonable relationship with educational practice, even when the available resources are meager. Perhaps the most important admonitions are to keep in view the whole process of educational change, to relate one's efforts to the whole process (which does not mean tackling the whole process at once), to work for continuity and cumulation in whatever efforts are made, to be realistic, and to take satisfaction in small bits of progress.

Research Recommendations

Our analysis indicates that there may not be a close relationship between some of the links in the chain that leads from the broad purposes of social studies education to the classroom execution of those purposes. The links in the chain are

1. Rationale: what are the most basic purposes of social studies education, and how are those purposes shaped and limited by knowledge or assumptions concerning the nature of individuals, society, knowledge, values, and learning?

2. Goals and objectives: what are the general goals and specific objectives to be accomplished?

3. Curriculum planning: what are the pattern of content and processes that will implement the goals and objectives?

4. Curriculum materials: what materials will assist teachers and students in accomplishing the goals and objectives?

5. Classroom activities: what actions of teachers and students are undertaken to accomplish the goals and objectives?

Good educational theory would indicate that these links should be closely and logically related to each other. Our knowledge of the facts indicates that the relationships among some of these elements are neither close nor logical.

In view of the fact that considerable effort is expended on each of these steps in the educational process, with the possible exception of rationale, and that a lack of close and logical relationships among the steps may be an important hindrance to the accomplishment of desirable outcomes, we suggest a research agenda addressed to the following questions:

1. How do the participants in social studies education--teachers, chairpersons, consultants, curriculum planners, school administrators, professors of education, and curriculum theorists--perceive each of the five links and the relationships or lack of relationships among them?

2. Are these same participants concerned about a lack of relationships among the links and do they feel that efforts are warranted to bring about closer relationships?

3. What kinds of activities on the part of any of the participants or of other agencies would be feasible and effective in bringing about closer relationships among the links?

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CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By James G. Lengel and Douglas P. Superka

Introduction

After examining 20 years of social studies curriculum research and writing, the author of the Ohio State literature review concluded that "there is a lack of agreement as to what social studies really is" (Wiley 1977, p. 41). A study of schools in California reported by Richard Gross reached a summary finding that "there is no standard social studies program in California. The one honest answer is the curriculum varies" (Gross 1977, p. 195). In this same survey, a majority of respondents indicated that "a well-integrated scope and sequence just does not exist" (Gross 1977, p. 200). A common report from the Case Studies in Science Education was, "the field observer could find no underlying and unifying principle in the social studies curriculum at the site" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:31). These findings seem to lead to the conclusion that there is no common social studies curriculum in the nation's schools.

In fact, a multiplicity of topics are taught under the rubric of social studies. In local and state curriculum guides, NCSS position papers, and school course offerings, one can find just about every topic there is. From the three NSF studies alone, one can conclude that social studies curriculum content includes: school, community, home, self, families, neighborhoods, communities, state history, world geography, American history, world cultures, civics, world history, problems of democracy, sociology, government, psychology, economics, European history, sex education, home living, intergroup education, driver education, guidance, ethics, philosophy, humanities, student development, free enterprise, communism and totalitarianism, and consumer education. Appendix A-4 of the Ohio State literature review (Wiley 1977) contains a nine-page, small-type listing of social studies curriculum topics.

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The definitions of social studies collected in this review indicate that social studies includes anything that has to do with people interacting with each other, with their environment, or with ideas. Is there anything that's not included in that definition? The curriculum called social studies appears to be anything and everything.

Even though a convincing argument can be made from this evidence that the social studies curriculum is characterized by extreme diversity, lack of focus, and few if any commonly-held structures, other findings of the studies show a remarkable uniformity in the way social studies topics and course titles are organized on a K-12 basis throughout the nation. Wiley, for example, observed that:

> Throughout the nation, there have been fairly uniform course and credit requirements at the secondary level over the last 20 years (Wiley 1977, p. 30).

Similarly, the authors of the Case Studies in Science Education concluded that, in 1977:

> The country had--not a nationally imposed curriculum--but local acceptance of a nation-wide curriculum. . . . The formal curriculum the school district offers was almost constant across the country (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:1).

The chances are quite high, for instance, that an 11th-grade student moving mid-term from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to Bakersfield, California would still be taking U.S. history. Thus, although the theoretical boundaries of social studies describe a huge estate, the real property appears quite limited and common, at least at the course title and topic level.

This paper describes and explains the nature of social studies curriculum organization in the nation's elementary and secondary schools, as best we can tell from existing research and the collective knowledge and experience of project staff and consultants. We identify and describe the dominant pattern existing in the schools, as well as some systematic and unique variations. The paper also includes a discussion of articulation between and within elementary and secondary levels. We conclude by providing a suggested list of further research questions that would help clarify and extend these findings and by offering one possible explanation for why the dominant pattern is so widespread.

Elementary Social Studies Curriculum

The dominant pattern of curriculum organization for elementary social studies (K-6) is the "expanding environments" framework. While precise figures are not provided in the NSF studies, we have concluded from extensive examinations of local and state curriculum guides (Wiley 1977, p. 31; Sutton 1976), Project SPAN and other analyses of the most-used elementary social studies textbook programs (Weiss 1978, Appendix, p. B46) the observations and conclusions of the CSSE researchers (Stake and Easley 1978), descriptions provided in elementary social studies methods texts (e.g., Joyce and Alleman-Brooks, 1979, pp. 17-20; Michaelis 1980, pp. 16-19), and the widespread experience and knowledge of the SPAN staff and consultants that the overwhelming majority of elementary social studies programs are based on the following sequence of courses:

Kindergarten - Self, Home, School, and Community
Grade 1 - Families
Grade 2 - Neighborhoods
Grade 3 - Communities
Grade 4 - State History and Geographic Regions
Grade 5 - U.S. History
Grade 6 - World Cultures (Western or Eastern Hemisphere)

This "expanding environments" pattern is based on the notion that social studies content should begin with the immediate environment of the child (self, home, school) and move outward to the community, state, nation, and beyond. According to the Ohio State literature review, this pattern has predominated throughout the past 20 years (Wiley 1977, p. 31). Using the term "expanding communities," it was most clearly elaborated and explained by Hanna (1963), but its roots trace back to a report on elementary social studies issued in conjuction with the secondary-level Report of the Committee on Social Studies in 1916 (see Dunn 1916, p. 12; Morrissett 1980, pp. 8-10). In the past several decades, however, changes have taken place within this framework. Most curriculum guides and textbooks no longer restrict instruction to a single area. Rather, comparative studies are included so that students have opportunities to go beyond their community, state, and nation to get a view of ways of living in other places in the United States and the world. In addition, concepts from the social sciences have been introduced in the primary grades as well as the intermediate grades, thus adding a new dimension to the curriculum (Wiley 1977, p. 32). But "topics," usually defined in terms of places, remain the dominant organizers of elementary school social studies curricula.

In the primary grades (K-3), perhaps the most significant current trend is the decreased attention being given to the social studies curriculum. About two-thirds of the K-3 teachers in the RTI survey indicated that inadequate time to teach social studies was a significant problem (Weiss 1978, Appendix, p. B129). Primary teachers in that study also reported that they averaged only 20 minutes per day of social studies instruction compared with 40 minutes for math and 95 minutes for reading (Weiss 1978, pp. 50-51). Field observers in the Case Studies in Science Education and many district people today report even less time (e.g., 20 minutes per day, two or three days per week). In many districts science and social studies compete with physical education, art, and music for a daily period. In some schools, the two subjects are not even taught at the primary grades (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 5:9, 7:7-8, 11:47, and 11:1-31). Gross reported that fewer than one-third of the K-5 teachers in several Florida studies reported positive attitudes toward social studies and fewer than one-half taught social studies regularly (Gross 1977, p. 198). District surveys in Montana and California indicated that 70 percent or more of the K-4 teachers were doing little or nothing with social studies. Surveys in two Colorado districts reported that primary teachers were spending about one hour a week on social studies (Gross 1977, p. 198). Publishers have related that their sales of social studies textbooks and other materials at the primary level "have declined significantly" (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1979, p. 16).

A major reason for the decline and perhaps threat of disappearance of primary social studies is the renewed attention to "basics" such as reading, writing, and math. Since this trend has probably accelerated in the past three years, it is very likely that attention to social studies at the primary grades in 1981 (as this is being written) is even less than reported in those 1976-1977 studies. Some primary teachers, however, claim that considerable social studies content is taught in reading, language arts, and health. They contend that the topics of readers and the content of writing assignments and values exercises often include family, self, people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, personal decisions, and other content areas closely related to social studies. Research is, however, needed to confirm the extent and nature of this possible trend.

In schools which do teach social studies courses at the primary grades, what specifically is being taught within that general expanding environments framework? The following topics and themes are typical of those taught in primary social studies programs:

> Kindergarten: Self, Home, School, Community--discovering myself (Who am I? How am I alike and different from others?), school (my classroom, benefits of school), working together, living at home, community helpers, children in other lands, rules, celebrating holidays, working and playing safely.
>
> Grade 1: Families--Family membership, recreation, work, cooperation, traditions, families in other cultures, how my family is alike and different from others, family responsibilities, my senses and feelings, the family at work, our school and other schools, and national holidays.
>
> Grade 2: Neighborhoods--Workers and services in the neighborhood, food, shelter and clothing, transportation, communication, living in different neighborhoods, my role within the neighborhood and community, changes in my neighborhood, neighborhoods and communities in other cultures, farm and city life, and protecting our environment.
>
> Grade 3: Communities--Different kinds of communities, changes in communities, community government, community services, communities in other countries, cities, careers in cities, urban problems, business and industry, pioneers and American Indians, and communities past and present.*

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*This list of illustrative topics and the following one for grades 4-6 were based on an examination of previous analyses of topics in Wiley 1977, Appendix, pp. 24-25; Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1979, pp. 17-18; Michaelis 1980, pp. 16-19; Welton and Mallan 1976, p. 106; and an analysis of recent textbooks by SSEC staff.

Several observations can be made from this look at primary-level social studies topics. First, the topics are generalized and non-specific. First-graders across the country, for example, study families but not necessarily the same ones. While one class is studying a family in Appalachia, another may be studying a family in Chicago or Japan. Second, as indicated in the Ohio State literature review (Wiley 1977, p. 30), primary social studies courses today, more than those in the past, emphasize urban life, multicultural studies, and comparative studies.

Finally, the basic "expanding environments" pattern is interspersed with recurring traditional topics that don't necessarily fit into the expanding horizons concept: for example, national holidays, celebrations, "great Americans," school rules, and American Indians. These are a regular part of the social studies curriculum at primary and even intermediate levels, though often left to the discretion of each teacher. Similarly, topics of special interest such as law-related studies, ethnic heritage, women, and careers, are often added to the elementary social studies experience by the local district or the teacher. Many of these are repeated year after year in each student's experience, and are often treated separately from the stated content area for the year.

Social studies courses in the intermediate grades (4-6) extend the "expanding environments" sequence begun at the primary level to state, nation, and world. But there are several important differences between intermediate and primary social studies. First, in grades 4-6 social studies does not appear to be an endangered species. It still does not receive the amount of attention that reading and math do, but the disparity is less--34 minutes per day for social studies compared with 51 minutes for math and 66 for reading (Weiss 1978, p. 51). The decline in social studies textbook sales appears to end around the third or fourth grade, and teachers and administrators seem to view social studies especially at the fifth and sixth grades as a stable part of the elementary curriculum. Second, beginning in fourth grade the topics become more defined, so that most students are studying the same geographic regions (e.g., Canada, Latin America, and Japan) and certain aspects of U.S. history (e.g., exploration, colonial living, and westward expansion). Finally, history and geography receive a much stronger emphasis in these grades than at the primary level. Examples of topics typically taught in social studies at these grades are:

> Grade 4: Geographic Regions--Different world regions, people of the world, climatic regions, physical regions, population, food; State History--problems of our state, our state government, state history, people of our state, state laws, roles of state workers.
>
> Grade 5: U.S. History--The first Americans, exploration and discovery, colonial life, westward movement, War Between the States, immigrants, the Roaring Twenties, lifestyles in United States, values of the American people, our neighbors to the North and South, United States as world power, great American leaders.
>
> Grade 6: World Cultures/Hemispheres--political and economic systems, land and resources, people and their beliefs, comparative cultures; Western Hemisphere--Early cultures of South America, the ABC Countries, Central American countries, Canada, Mexico, historical beginnings of Western world; Eastern Hemisphere--Ancient Greece and Rome, Middle Ages, Renaissance, Middle East, Europe, Africa, India, and China.

While these topics exemplify content in typical intermediate-level social studies today, social studies has not been uniformly stable in these three grades over the past decade. Wiley notes that while geographic regions seemed to predominate in 1970, by 1975 state history became the main fourth-grade course in many districts (Wiley 1977, p. 30). Textbook analyses indicate that map and globe skills have recently received renewed attention, especially at fourth grade (see the Patrick with Hawke paper in this volume). The fifth grade has been more stable during that ten-year period, with a continuing U.S. history focus. Wiley notes, however, that a more "presentist" orientation to U.S. society characterized many programs in 1975 (Wiley 1977, p. 30). Finally, social studies at grade six appears to have undergone and is still undergoing the most change. While the Western hemisphere, especially Latin America and Canada, predominated in 1970, a world cultures approach, drawing more on anthropology and other social sciences, was dominant by 1975 (Wiley 1977, p. 30). A world cultures orientation still appeared common in 1980, but some schools offer a sixth- and seventh-grade sequence of Western and Eastern hemispheres in either order (Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1979, p. 19). Reflecting this situation, one publisher is currently offering two texts for grade 6--one on Latin America and Canada and one on the Eastern hemisphere.

Thus, at the elementary level the "expanding environments" framework continues to predominate, but some specific changes in content have occurred. Moreover, the existence and degree of prevalence of social studies courses is not uniform from K to 6. Many schools have only a minimal primary social studies program. In addition, the specific courses at fourth and sixth grades vary more among two or three alternatives than do the fifth-grade courses. Topics, however, usually defined as geographic places, remain the dominant organizers for the elementary social studies curriculum.

Secondary Social Studies Curriculum

In 1916 the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education recommended generally the following sequence of social studies courses: Grade 7--Geography/European History; Grade 8--American History; Grade 9--Civics; Grade 10--European History; Grade 11--American History; and Grade 12--Problems of Democracy (social, economic, and political) (Dunn 1916, p. 12). This secondary pattern might be characterized as two cycles of "contracting environments." The major justification of the committee for this pattern of organization is revealed in the following quotation from their report:

> [T]he course of social studies proposed for the years 7-9 constitutes a cycle to be followed by a similar cycle in the years 10-12, and presumably preceded by another similar cycle in the six elementary grades. This grouping . . . is based chiefly upon the fact that large numbers of children complete their schooling with the sixth grade and another large contingent with the eighth and ninth grades (Dunn 1916, p. 12).

This two-cycle pattern, then, was conceived at and for a time when few people graduated from high school, when large numbers of immigrants had come to America, when the country was close to entering World War I, and when historians had a very strong influence on the social studies profession. This pattern is believed to have been fairly common already in 1916. By 1924 one-third of the high schools followed this course structure. It soon became the dominant pattern for secondary social studies curriculum organization in the country (Hertzberg 1981, pp. 35-37).

Recent data from the NSF studies and elsewhere indicate that although some changes in this curriculum pattern have occurred in the past 60 years, and despite the tremendous changes in society that occurred during that time, the dominant structure of secondary social studies courses today is remarkably similar to that 1916 pattern. Considering in one breath what states require, what students enroll in, what teachers teach, what schools offer, and what state and local guides say, the following pattern of social studies courses (with some reversals in order and some differences) predominates today:

Grade 7 - World History/Cultures/Geography
Grade 8 - U.S. History
Grade 9 - World Cultures/History or Civics/Government
Grade 10 - World Cultures/History
Grade 11 - U.S. History
Grade 12 - American Government and Sociology/Psychology

This pattern reflects several changes from the 1916 scheme. European history has been broadened to world history, which includes the history and culture studies of Africa, Asia, and other areas. Ninth-grade civics has given some ground to world history and at the twelfth grade Problems of Democracy has become American government, with many schools also offering social science electives such as sociology and psychology.

The pattern of topics and course titles that makes up this current common curriculum is evident in a variety of sources. The National Survey in Social Studies Education compiled by the Virginia State Department of Education (Sutton 1976) describes the legal requirements, written recommendations, and most consistent patterns of social studies courses in all the states. Virtually all of the states report curriculum organization in terms of course titles, most of which fall into the typical pattern. For example, 74 percent of the states require a year of "American History" or something with a similar title in grade 11 or thereabouts; "World History" or its equivalent is also required in high school by 44 percent of the states (Sutton 1976). State requirements are not the only determinant of the social studies curriculum, but they do serve to set a pattern which is confirmed by other data.

The RTI survey of local and state social studies offerings and requirements revealed that 93 percent of secondary schools offer "American History" in the 11th grade or thereabouts, and 81 percent of the districts require all students to take the course. Seventy percent of schools offer "World History" and more than 60 percent offer "American Government." More than half of those offering government make it a required course (Weiss 1978, p. 26, 54). Nearly 60 percent of high school social studies courses are year-long in duration; about one-third are semester courses (Weiss 1978, p. 65). Presumably, the 12th grade accounts for most of the semester courses, with one semester of government and one semester of social science offered. At the junior high level, more than 80 percent of the social studies courses are year-long, with U.S. history as the most prevalent course (Weiss 1978, pp. 64-65).

Table 1 presents enrollment figures from the RTI study that provide a general indication of the extent to which junior and senior high students are taking these social studies. Weiss cautions that these enrollment figures have standard errors that "tend to be quite large" and that they "should be treated only as rough estimates" (Weiss 1978, p. 57). The junior high courses, moreover, are identified in most cases merely as "social studies." Data from a recent survey of classes taught by secondary social studies teachers confirm the specific 7-9 course sequence outlined above (Fontana 1980, p. 35).

Richard Gross' tabulation of high school social studies course enrollments also shows a still-predominant 10-11-12 pattern of "World or European History," "American History," and "American Government" for most students in secondary school, but with increasing competition from "Economics," "Psychology," and "Sociology" courses (Gross 1977, p. 196-198). Although Gross may have thought that "the traditional pattern of high school social studies offerings, rather stable since the 1916 (Dunn) Report . . ., has finally been shattered" (Gross 1977, p. 196), the results of the NSF and other studies show otherwise. The Dunn pattern may have been shaken a bit in the early- to mid-seventies (the data reported by Gross are from 1973 and 1975), with a trend toward minicourses and electives. As indicated above, however, the more recent data from the NSF studies show movement back to the traditional pattern. The trend shown in the RTI and Virginia surveys is generally confirmed

Table 1

TOTAL ENROLLMENTS IN SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES COURSES

III. Social Studies Courses	Schools With Only Grades 7-9 Enrollment	Schools With Grades 7-9 and Higher Enrollment	All Schools With Grades 7-9 Enrollment	Schools With Only Grades 10-12 Enrollment	Schools With Grades 10-12 and Lower Enrollment	All Schools With Grades 10-12 Enrollment
Social Studies, Grade 7	3,294,015	368,217	3,662,232	0	479,813	479,813
Social Studies, Grade 8	2,788,168	466,950	3,255,118	0	531,163	531,163
Social Studies, Grade 9	863,780	688,676	1,552,456	893	890,999	891,892
Soc. St., Grades 10-12	0	564,516	564,516	198,498	839,194	1,037,692
State History	333,745	363,691	697,436	24,769	420,768	445,537
U. S. History	792,605	2,723,093	2,915,698	1,480,114	2,526,178	4,006,291
World History	123,616	1,077,078	1,200,694	660,967	1,414,432	2,075,399
U. S. Government	200,884	749,252	950,136	673,395	971,791	1,645,186
Economics	31,926	538,296	570,222	243,197	439,335	682,532
Geography	208,950	310,048	518,998	88,152	495,185	583,337
Psychology	5,096	336,215	341,312	225,852	453,986	679,838
Sociology	8,138	365,957	374,095	221,695	525,622	747,316
Anthropology	0	7,075	7,075	19,494	71,820	91,314
Social Studies, Any Grade	6,945,963	2,097,926	9,043,889	204,973	2,754,543	2,959,516
Law	5,342	17,418	22,760	18,829	44,531	63,360
Amer. Prob., Contemp. Prob.	3,329	54,818	58,147	48,236	160,597	208,833
Psychology, Behavioral St.	5,096	359,648	364,745	243,285	458,813	702,099
Sample N	212	79	291	90	163	253

(Weiss 1978, p. 60)

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in the Ohio State literature review (Wiley 1977, pp. 32-36 and Appendix A-4, pp. 27-32), the CSSE survey (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 18:21-26), a survey of publishers (Schneider and Van Sickle 1979, p. 464), and a recent survey of social studies teachers (Fontana 1980, pp. 32-38).

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions to this typical pattern--variations in the uniformity of these dominant courses. U.S. history courses in the eighth and eleventh grades are clearly the most pervasive courses throughout the country. Since textbooks are used widely to teach these courses and since the most widely used texts are chronological surveys of U.S. history (see the Patrick with Hawke paper in this volume), the great majority of U.S. history courses are probably survey courses. Wiley, however, notes a trend toward inclusion of more social, economic, and cultural content in these courses (Wiley 1977, pp. 30-31). She also observes that "some states and districts have made the junior year course into 'American Studies,' emphasizing certain themes and topics with less focus on chronology" (Wiley 1977, p. 33). In addition, she notes that "some schools . . . still offer American history as a two-year course because they feel that there is too much to cover in one year" (Wiley 1978, p. 33). In some schools this two-year sequence occurs in the ninth and tenth grades.

The latter pattern may help to account for another apparent exception to the traditional pattern. Fontana reports that in a recent survey of 550 secondary social studies teachers drawn from a national sample, U.S. history is offered as extensively as world history/cultures at tenth grade. Table 2 indicates that about the same number of sections of U.S. history and world history/cultures were taught at tenth grade by this sample of teachers.

Since the Fontana studies show that 65 sections of U.S. history were also taught in the ninth grade, it is possible that as many as one-half of the tenth-grade sections are part of a two-year sequence. More research, however, is needed to confirm this hypothesis and to further clarify the relative emphasis of world or U.S. history at the tenth grade.

Another variation in the general 7-12 pattern of courses is in state history. The RTI study reported that 20 percent of the states require a course in the history of their state for high school graduation (Weiss

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Table 2

NUMBER OF SECTIONS OF SOCIAL STUDIES COURSES
TAUGHT BY GRADE LEVEL

Course	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
American History	67	329	65	121	321	23	926
American Government/Civics/ Political Science	36	25	80	14	42	134	331
World History/Cultures	96	6	104	116	43	19	384
Sociology/Psychology/ Anthropology	5	0	4	10	44	56	119
Geography	107	21	37	16	14	13	208
Economics	12	2	4	9	9	33	69
Other Social Studies	77	39	40	21	50	41	268*
							2305

N=552 teachers

* These secondary social studies teachers also reported teaching 165 non-social studies courses.

(Fontana 1980, p. 35)

1978, p. 23). Another study indicated that 33 states require the study of "the history of the state and nation" and 41 states prescribe the "study of state and federal constitutions" (Henning et al. 1979, p. 36). Weiss reported that nearly 700,000 students in "schools with grades 7-9" were enrolled in state history courses (Weiss 1978, p. 60).

Some variations and exceptions to the typical pattern are due to the grade-level structures of the schools and to regional differences. The pattern of social studies courses offered can vary depending upon school/grade organization (6-8, 7-9, 9-12, 10-12, and 7-12). Weiss, for example, found that schools with grades "10-12 only" were "significantly more likely to offer additional social studies courses such as psychology and economics" (Weiss 1978, p. 57). Only 27 percent of the "schools with grades 10-12 and lower" offered economics courses, while 65 percent of the "10-12 only" schools did. Similar differences were found for sociology (52 percent to 74 percent) and psychology (41 percent to 65 percent) (Weiss 1978, p. 54). This difference may also be related to the size of the school districts. Presumably, more of the 7-12 or 9-12 schools were located in small districts while the 10-12 only schools were in larger districts.

Regional differences may also account for some of the course pattern variation. Wiley (1977, pp. 36-41), citing several earlier studies, reported a number of specific regional variations: "American government and sociology were offered much less in the Northeast than in other regions" (p. 40), "the South offered civics and state history more often than any other sections" (pp. 36, 40), "the Midwest offered the greatest diversity in social studies courses" (p. 40), and "economics was taught less commonly in the schools of the South and the West than in those of the Northeast and Midwest" (p. 41). Differences in course requirements may account for some of these patterns. More Southern states have social studies requirements than do states in other regions; all states in the South require specific social studies courses for graduation while only two-thirds of the North Central states and three-fourths of the Northern states do (Weiss 1978, p. 25). More than 80 percent of the Southern and Western states require more than one year of social studies for high school graduation, while only 38 percent of the states in the Northeast and 58 percent of those in the North Central region do (Weiss 1978, p. 24). Similar regional patterns of requirements were found in science and math, but the numbers were much lower. Social studies courses at the secondary level are much more widely required by states than math or science (e.g., 60 percent of the states in the nation require more than one year of social studies, while only 21 percent of the states do so in math and science) (Weiss 1978, p. 24).

Despite the variations and exceptions noted above, however, the general pattern of social studies courses is quite common throughout the nation's schools. While the social sciences have undoubtedly made some inroads into the secondary social studies curriculum, the curriculum still has a topic-based organization dominated by history and government courses.

Elementary/Secondary Articulation

We have just described, analyzed, and discussed the elementary and secondary social studies curricula separately. This division reflects fairly accurately how they are treated in the schools, as indicated by the following findings from the NSF studies:

--"The articulation of the social studies curriculum was found to be weak at all grade levels" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:30).

--Articulation of curriculum across grade levels is seen as a problem by more than one-half of social studies teachers (Weiss 1978, p. B129).

--Only one (of 11 sites) had made "some attempt . . . to develop and implement a coherent social studies curriculum in the elementary schools" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:29).

--In only one (of 11 sites) "did we find indication of a sustained attempt to effect articulation from elementary to junior high school social studies" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:29).

--"Little concern was expressed by secondary teachers regarding the teaching of social studies in the elementary schools" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:29).

To be sure, many states and school districts have developed social studies curriculum guides that do outline (at least on paper) plans for K-12 articulation based on either social science concepts, social studies skills, or both. The NSF studies, however, indicate that most teachers ignore these guides. Articulation on paper has not generally led to articulation in the classroom.

There are many reasons for this lack of articulation between elementary and secondary social studies. One factor certainly is the fact that in most cases they occur in separate schools. This explains why the Illinois case study researchers also observed little articulation between these levels in science and math (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:35). This physical and cultural separation of the schools accounts for much of the difficulty in communication, but there are qualitative differences between elementary and secondary social studies that intensify this difficulty.

As indicated earlier, social studies is not considered an important part of the elementary curriculum, especially at the primary level. It is considered and treated as an important part of secondary schools (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:29). Moreover, social studies at the two levels is based on different organizational schemes. The "expanding horizons" concept of elementary social studies is based, presumably, on some theory of child development, while the sequence of secondary offerings is based on the "exit points" prevalent in 1916.

The major difference, however, and perhaps the one that determines many of the others, is the difference between those who teach social studies at elementary and secondary levels. Most secondary teachers of social studies teach only social studies. They are required by the state to be certified as social studies teachers and to prepare accordingly. Elementary teachers, on the other hand, are predominantly working in "self-contained classrooms" where they teach reading, math, writing, good manners, recess, lunch, nap time, social studies, science, and everything else--and it's often in that order of priority. Elementary teachers teach children; secondary teachers teach history, geography, or government. Their self-perceptions, professional turf, and raisons-d'etre can only be very different from one another. Since a common finding of the NSF studies was that the teacher is a primary determinant of social studies education (along with the textbook), it is fair to conclude that these qualitative teacher differences account for much of the elementary/secondary "disarticulation."

The tremendous degree of teacher autonomy (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979, p. 6) that exists is also a major factor leading to little articulation even within the elementary and secondary schools. The following selections from the Illinois case studies illustrate the effect of this teacher autonomy on attempts to provide articulation at the secondary level.

An administrator describes several U.S. history sections in a high school:

> At the end of the first quarter one teacher might be teaching World War I, another the post-Civil War period, and a third the Columbian period. Literally true. Now that is independence that is intolerable. When a kid has to move from one course to another, he should move from Jacksonian democracy to Jacksonian democracy (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:114).

A social studies teacher reacting to district pressure to conform to the curriculum guide:

> The pattern will be set and if the President is assassinated, I'm not supposed to dwell on it if it isn't in the curriculum. This year when I get to Rome in world history I'm going to stay there a while. Why? Because I am fired up about it. It is neat because I have just

> finished an intensive study of it. What will the behavioral objectives say about that? Try to write content objectives for current events sometime (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:115).

A junior high social studies teacher in a small rural district:

> I don't know how Mrs. F. over at the high school does it, if she teaches pre-or-post 1865, but I don't get past World War I. I don't really follow the book. We go right past the colonial period, skipping the first two hundred pages. However, we do spend about two months on the Constitution. This is important; if you learn to play a game, you have to learn the rules. The Constitution fascinates me, especially since the school law course I studied recently. I bring in case studies on constitutional law and also recent ones like the Tinker case in Des Moines (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:50).

Thus, at the secondary level the emphasis on discrete subjects (U.S. history, world cultures, and government) and the power of the individual teacher lead to little articulation from course to course and grade level to grade level. This type of curriculum organization creates no pressing need for a teacher to try to "fit in" with what is taught before or after. In fact, as the first case study selection indicates, teacher autonomy even tends to negate attempts to coordinate different sections of the same course within a high school.

The textbook is another significant factor affecting articulation. Since textbooks are developed separately for the various secondary social studies courses, they tend to reinforce "disarticulation" at that level. At the elementary level, however, the social studies texts usually are developed as part of a series--usually K-6, sometimes K-7, K-8. Frequently, the series are based on some plan for the sequential development of concepts and skills organized within the expanding environments framework. Since this framework has an apparently logical basis for sequential teaching (from immediate to distant settings) and since textbooks are written to fit within this overall framework, there is probably more real articulation within the elementary social studies curriculum than within the secondary. This level of articulation, however, is probably not as high as in reading and math in the elementary schools.

We are led to one final comment about articulation--both between and within the elementary and secondary curricula. Some educators believe that, unlike math and reading, the content of social studies does not lend itself to sequential development and careful articulation. Some even question the logic of the sequentially oriented "expanding environments" pattern (see Welton and Mallan 1976; Joyce and Alleman-Brooks 1979; and Egan 1978). This then could be a final reason for little articulation in social studies--there may be little basis or rationale for it. As this discussion indicates, there is disagreement among social studies educators as to whether K-12 curriculum articulation can or should be done. Based on the data analyzed by Project SPAN, however, there can be no disagreement that there is in actual practice little K-12 curriculum articulation in social studies.

Further Research

The findings on social studies curriculum organization presented in this paper have been based on a considerable amount of national research that was available to Project SPAN from 1978 to 1981. Some findings were also based on or supplemented with informal analyses, personal experiences and knowledge, and the collective judgments of the SPAN staff and consultants. We believe that we have presented the most accurate and detailed picture of social studies curriculum organization possible at this time. Further research is needed, however. Specifically, there is a need to clarify and extend these current findings and to explore some qualitative questions concerning curriculum organization in social studies. Below we have listed a sample of research questions that will help fulfill those needs and that we believe would be fruitful areas of pursuit for social studies researchers. This list is by no means complete and comprehensive.

1. Precisely how extensive and widespread throughout the nation are the dominant elementary and secondary social studies pattern identified by SPAN? For example: What proportion of districts have this pattern? How many students experience this sequence of courses? What exceptions to this pattern exist and how widespread are they? How did they develop? At grade levels where several courses or variations seem to be prevalent (e.g., fourth, sixth, ninth, and tenth grades), what proportion of districts or schools has each course? As indicated previously, one specific question that needs confirmation is the prevalence of U.S. history at tenth grade.

2. *What specific content is taught within these courses and how is it organized and presented*? For example: To what extent is there an emphasis on facts, concepts, and skills? To what extent are chronological, topical, or other approaches used to organize the content in U.S. history courses? To what extent are political and military events and social, cultural, or economic aspects of history stressed? How are the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade courses in U.S. history similar and different? To what extent are local history and law-related studies taught? In world cultures, what areas are most widely studied? To what extent is an historical vs. a cultural area approach taken in these courses? To what extent do the topics taught at the K-3 level conform to or deviate from the expanding environments pattern? How closely do the specific topics taught in elementary social studies compare with those covered in science at the various grade levels?

3. *What variations from the dominant K-12 pattern of social studies courses can be identified*? For example: What alternatives to the dominant K-12 pattern have been proposed and developed? How widely and how are they being implemented? How many districts, for example, are teaching an introduction to the social sciences at ninth grade? What courses based on extensive community-based study exist and how widespread are they? How widespread is a two-year U.S. history course at the high school level? To what extent and how are global perspectives being infused into social studies courses? What interdisciplinary courses exist (e.g., social studies and English or social studies and science)? How did they develop? What social studies courses and topics are taught in nongraded school situations?

4. *To what extent is social studies content, especially at the primary level, actually taught and discussed as part of such other subjects as reading, language arts, and health*? For example: What social studies topics, themes, and concepts are included in these other subject areas? What kinds of questions and activities accompany treatment of this content in classrooms? To what extent are these questions and activities focused on developing reading and language arts skills rather than on dealing with social studies content? To what extent are critical thinking and valuing skills developed in relation to this social studies content? What are the stated objectives for the treatment of this con-

tent in these subject areas and how do these objectives relate to stated social studies objectives for that grade level?

5. What are the implications for existing practices of current research related to curriculum organization? For example: What are the merits of different curriculum organization patterns (e.g., in terms of teacher effectiveness and student learning)? What are the outcomes (intended and unintended) of district efforts to develop and implement curriculum guides and what factors are responsible for those outcomes? What are the effects on student learning of different amounts and kinds of graduation requirements in social studies? What implications from research on student development (e.g., cognitive, moral, and social) are relevant to K-12 curriculum organization in social studies? Are there examples of school districts that have a high amount of K-12 articulation in the social studies curriculum? What positive benefits are gained from this articulation? Why is the current pattern of curriculum organization in social studies so dominant? To what extent is it feasible and desirable to develop alternative curriculum organizations for social studies on a wide scale?

Conclusion

The social studies curriculum in elementary and secondary schools today is organized around topics of study (places, continents, events, and subjects) that were established more than 60 years ago. Some changes in the content of that curriculum have occurred, and some variations and exceptions to specific courses at particular grades exist throughout the country. Generally, however, the topics and courses and the order in which they are taught are remarkably similar across the nation. At the elementary level "expanding environments" continues to be the major organizer for social studies. At the secondary level cycles of world history, U.S. history, and government or civics predominate. There is little articulation between elementary and secondary social studies programs and little evidence of social studies programs being organized around and actually taught on the basis of other possible themes, such as social science concepts, social studies skills, student developmental needs, or social issues.

Even though there is no central legal or professional authority dictating the curriculum organization for the schools (as there is in many other countries), the effect is the same as if there were one. While the dominant elementary and secondary patterns today have their roots in national commissions (of the National Education Association) at the turn of the century, no agency of the federal government has ever mandated them.

In the United States authority for public education rests with the states. The states issue some curriculum requirements and many suggested recommendations, but few states dictate a complete and binding K-12 scope and sequence. In most states the operation of the schools, including curriculum decisions, rests primarily with local authorities--school boards, administrators, supervisors, and teachers. Local authorities in more than 16,000 school districts with some guidelines and suggestions from 50 different states have managed to establish a pattern of social studies curriculum organization that is extremely similar throughout the country. Why?

It is beyond the scope of this paper to attempt a full-scale, detailed answer to this question. Several factors working together, however, do appear to be significant contributors to the existence of this common pattern. First is tradition. This dominant K-12 pattern has existed for 20 years, 40 years, 60 years, or more. Social studies teachers themselves were "run through" this pattern as students, as were parents and administrators. Elements of this pattern have been reinforced in state and local curriculum guides for many years.

A second reason may be that few have offered compelling reasons for an alternative pattern or patterns. Most of the "new social studies" curriculum projects focused on developing a specific new course or working within the existing framework, rather than on creating a new K-12 curriculum organization. A number of states and districts today have, of course, written K-12 social studies frameworks. Most of these, however, use the dominant pattern even if they also emphasize concepts and skills.

States or districts that propose another pattern may have a difficult time implementing it because appropriate materials are unavailable--the third factor explaining the existence of a nationwide curriculum.

Most social studies programs are based on published textbooks. Most textbooks have been written to fit into the dominant pattern in order to ensure a market. It is difficult for an individual teacher, school, or even state to implement, for example, a ninth-grade course in psychology if the only materials available for that age level are civics and world history texts. Likewise, it is difficult to convince a publisher to develop a new psychology text for ninth grade when most of the country is teaching civics or world history at that level. Paul Goldstein, who has made a critical study of textbook development by publishers, writes, "The surest, least costly way to succeed with new materials is to follow the patterns successfully established by materials already in use" (Goldstein 1978, p. 5).

As a result of these factors, individual teachers, schools, and districts in different parts of the country and in different geographic settings are confronted with a common nationwide tradition, a set of textbooks that reinforces that tradition, and few if any feasible or better alternatives. The result, not surprisingly, is as the principal investigators of the Illinois case studies concluded--"local acceptance of a nation-wide curriculum" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:1).

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SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM MATERIALS

By John J. Patrick with Sharryl Hawke

Introduction

A curriculum is a course of study; it specifies educational ends and means--goals and avenues to goal attainment--for teachers and learners. Curriculum materials are the stuff of a course of study; they are tangible educational goods that embody day-to-day instructional activities.

Various kinds of curriculum materials are used in schools. Printed materials are traditional classroom staples. They include hardback basal textbooks, supplementary books of various kinds, softcover workbooks, study prints, programmed instructional materials, and wall maps and charts.

During the past generation, various nonprint materials have frequently been introduced into classrooms. These audiovisual media include 16mm films, 35mm slides, filmstrips, audio and video cassettes, and records. In addition, there are "hands-on" materials such as artifacts and models that can be examined and manipulated. Various kinds of new printed materials--educational games and simulations and packaged ditto masters--have also been introduced to the schools.

The basic assumption of this paper is that widely used curriculum materials (especially hardback textbooks) are significant educational indicators. They reveal what the society expects students to learn and what they are supposed to gloss over or ignore in the classroom. They signify how teachers are expected to teach and how students are supposed to learn. In short, prevalent curriculum materials indicate the society's educational values and modal teaching practices.

To what extent do curriculum materials influence curriculum planning, teaching, and learning in elementary and secondary school classrooms? This paper begins by examining the uses of curriculum materials today--their importance in planning and carrying out instruction. Next

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is a look at main features of the most-widely-used type of material, the basal textbook. A discussion of how textbooks are developed and adopted for use in schools follows. Then recommendations for further research are outlined; the report ends with a summary and concluding comments.

Use and Importance of Curriculum Materials

Curriculum materials, especially basal textbooks, are the foundations of instruction and learning in most social studies classrooms. The most important curriculum decision that most teachers make is the choice of a textbook. Additional curriculum planning and lesson planning tend to be determined by textbook selection. In the majority of cases, the social studies curriculum in a particular course is, for the most part, the concepts, facts, attitudes, and skills presented in the basal textbook used.

Dominance of the Textbook

Classroom activity revolves around the use of curriculum materials, especially hardback textbooks. About 90 percent of classroom time, in both elementary and secondary schools, involves the use of curriculum materials. Most of this time (about two-thirds) is spent on printed materials, mainly textbooks (EPIE 1977, pp. 5-6).

The use of printed materials--texts and other books--dominates instruction across grade levels. John Goodlad's study of schooling reveals the following: 93 percent of elementary students use textbooks; 92 percent of middle school students use textbooks and 55 percent use other, supplementary books; 88 percent of senior high students use textbooks and 24 percent use supplementary books (Wright 1980).

Current practices seem to be continuing past methods of teaching. In 1969, for example, the Texas Governor's Committee on Public Education reported that about 75 percent of students' classroom time and 90 percent of their homework time was spent using textbooks (Wirt and Kirst 1972, p. 212). Looking back even further, we find that when the very young National Council for the Social Studies commissioned a survey of selected junior and senior high school social studies programs, the report concluded that, "Schools were still 'in bondage' to the textbook with only modest improvements in the use of other instructional materials" (Hertzberg 1981, p. 38).

Teachers tend to depend upon a single hardback textbook. About half of all social studies teachers in elementary and secondary schools use a single basal text. About 90 percent use no more than three textbooks (Wiley 1977, p. 80).

Sixty-five percent of K-3 teachers in the RTI survey reported that they used at least one textbook; that figure rose to 92 percent among 4-6 teachers (Weiss 1978, p. 89). The significant increase from K-3 to 4-6 teachers indicates a difference in instructional methods made necessary by differences in student interests and reading abilities. Davis, Frymier, and Clinefelter (1977) reported that 98 percent of instructional interactions in fifth-grade classrooms were between the learner and one or more curriculum materials. About 78 percent of these interactions occurred with textbooks.

In most elementary and secondary schools, textbooks are important bases of curriculum planning, particularly in decisions about the scope and sequence of course content. Observers in the case study reports found that although state education departments and local school districts produce curriculum guides for various courses, teachers tend to disregard them. Instead, teachers depend on textbooks to guide course organization and day-to-day lesson plans (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:15). Two studies of Nebraska teachers similarly revealed that 50 percent of the teachers used a textbook as their major determiner of the curriculum, rather than sources such as the state department of education or local district's guidelines (Wiley 1977, p. 25). This finding held true for districts with and without social studies curriculum supervisors. Such findings led Wiley to conclude that as many as 80 percent of all curriculum decisions in schools across the nation are made on the basis of a textbook (Wiley 1977, pp. 80-81).

A somewhat different view of curriculum influence was found by investigators in the Goodlad research. In this study, teachers were asked to respond to a question about potential sources of influence on what they teach within a given subject area. Most teachers (more than 75 percent), regardless of subject area taught or level or schooling, responded that two sources significantly influence what they teach:

"(1) their own background, interests, and experiences and (2) student interests and abilities" (Klein, Tye, and Wright 1979, p. 246). Teachers reported themselves to be little influenced by state and district guides, district consultants, commercially prepared materals, and even textbooks. At the same time teachers at all levels reported that materials and content in their subject areas are appropriate for about 75 percent of their students (Klein, Tye, and Wright 1979, p. 247).

It is clear from each of the studies that teachers do not regard state and district curriculum guides as important curriculum influences. The evidence is not as clear-cut on the influence of materials, particularly textbooks, on curriculum planning. It appears that teachers, viewing available materials as appropriate for students, do use them in their curriculum planning. However, their choice of particular materials is dictated by their personal backgrounds and the interests and abilities of their students. Having used these personal criteria in selecting materials, teachers apparently feel confident in using the materials to help structure their day-to-day teaching.

Budget cuts in school districts and the high inflation rate must be part of any explanation for the heavy reliance of most teachers on a single, hardback basal textbook. Of all curriculum materials, the basal textbook is the most cost-efficient; it is the best bargain available in the educational products marketplace (Rasmussen 1979, p. 24). One publisher explained: "We are moving away from AV materials because of budget cutbacks" (Schneider and Van Sickle 1979, p. 465).

Commercial publishers, who are well aware of the market for elementary social studies materials, have made currently available approximately 18 textbook series for grades 1 through 6.* Half of these publishers supply kindergarten materials, mostly in the form of worksheets or picture posters rather than textbooks. Elementary social studies textbooks are generally produced as K-6 or 1-6 programs with a text and/or other products available at each grade level. Most of the elementary textbook series follow the expanding environments arrangement of topics, which is the common curriculum pattern used in the nation's elementary schools, as documented by Lengel and Superka in the preceding paper. This pattern is as follows:

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*Information based on holdings in the Social Science Education Consortium's Resource and Demonstration Center. Included in the count are textbooks with a copyright of 1976 to 1980. Basal textbooks, i.e., those with a text and a teacher's guide, were counted.

Kindergarten - Self, Home, School, and Community
Grade 1 - Families
Grade 2 - Neighborhoods
Grade 3 - Communities
Grade 4 - State History and Geographic Regions
Grade 5 - U.S. History
Grade 6 - World Cultures (Western or Eastern Hemisphere)

Within the current generation of elementary text series are some minor variations on the expanding environments pattern. For example, some publishers, such as Allyn and Bacon and Houghton Mifflin, focus less exclusively on neighborhood in second grade, adding more content on community, which would formerly have been reserved for the third grade. Fourth grade has long posed a problem for publishers because many states require or encourage state history at this level, but national publishers cannot produce a separate history for each state. Consequently, series published for the past ten years or so have used the fourth-grade text as an introduction to geographic regions of the world. Some of the most recent series, however, have centered fourth-grade study on geographic regions of the United States or on a social history of the United States (viz., Scholastic, Ginn, Macmillan). Fifth-grade books have remained quite constant as U.S. history texts, but sixth-grade texts reflect some variety. For example, Follett offers alternate texts for the sixth grade: Eastern hemisphere and Latin America/Canada texts.

In the RTI survey, the four most frequently used elementary textbook series were found to be the Laidlaw Social Science Program (Laidlaw), Exploring Series (Follett), Social Sciences: Concepts and Values (Harcourt Brace), and Contemporary Social Science Curriculum (Silver Burdett) (Weiss 1978, p. 92). It should be noted, however, that these figures represent data collected in 1976-77 and probably do not reflect current usage.

Textbooks are provided as separate entities for grades 7-12. Most focus on a single social science discipline such as history or geography, rather than taking an interdisciplinary approach as is used in the elementary texts. Although there is some variety in what is taught in social studies at secondary grade levels across the nation, a major finding of the SPAN project is that there is more consistency than diversity (see the preceding paper by Lengel and Superka). At each grade level one or two subject areas tend to dominate the textbooks offerings from publishers. The following listing reflects the predominant pattern of secondary texts and the number of textbooks offered by publishers:*

Grade 7 - World History (7), World Cultures (12), World Geography (6)
Grade 8 - U.S. History (27)
Grade 9 - World Cultures (17), World History (13), Civics (23)
Grade 10 - World Cultures (15), World History (15)
Grade 11 - U.S. History (46)
Grade 12 - American Government (24), Sociology (13), Psychology (25), Economics, (29), Anthropology (9)

The RTI survey found American history texts the most used books at both 7-9 and 10-12 grade levels. The data collected in 1976-77 showed the two most commonly used texts at 7-9 to be This is America's Story and The Free and the Brave. For grades 10-12 Rise of the American Nation and Magruder's American Government were the most used. However, as with the elementary texts, these figures reflect the usage in 1976-77 and may or may not reflect today's situation.

Data in the RTI survey suggests that many teachers are not using (or do not have access to) the most current textbook offerings. The survey found approximately one-third of the reporting elementary teachers used books that were more than seven years old; fewer secondary teacher were using books more than seven years old. However, fewer than one-fourth of teachers at any grade level had books that were less than three years old (Weiss 1978, p. 94). In attempting to relate differences in use of current textbooks to variables such as region, type of community, size of district, and size of schools, the survey found no large differences and no consistent pattern of differences (Weiss 1978, p. 93).

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*Information on number of texts based on holdings in SSEC's Resource and Demonstration Center.

Many elementary and secondary social studies textbooks are accompanied by supplementary materials, particularly teacher's manuals and student workbooks, but also including audiovisual materials, activity cards, and test materials. The only data available on the use of these textbook supplements are from the RTI survey; respondent misunderstanding of survey questions reduced the reliability of those data. However, the general trends suggested by the survey are that teacher manuals are the most frequently used supplements and that social studies teachers at grades 4-9 use such manuals more than teachers at K-3 or 10-12. Publisher-supplied test materials are used by roughly a third of all social studies teachers except at grades K-3; teachers at that level make little use of published tests. Other materials are used by less than 25 percent of social studies teachers at any grade level. It should be noted that not all textbooks have supplements other than teacher's guides.

Because K-6 teachers teach all discipline areas, it is interesting to compare their use of social studies textbook supplements with their use of supplements in other discipline areas. The RTI data show some differences in teachers' use of social studies, math, and science materials. For example, fewer K-3 teachers use teacher's manuals for social studies than for math, although about the same number use manuals for science. Fewer teachers use workbooks in social studies than in math, and more teachers use hands-on materials in math and science than in social studies at all elementary grade levels. Publisher-made tests seem to be used by about the same number of 4-6 teachers in math, science, and social studies, but fewer K-3 teachers use such tests in science and social studies than in math (Weiss 1978, p. 97).

Thus, it appears that fewer elementary teachers use publisher-supplied textbook supplements in their social studies instruction than in their math or science classes. This situation may result from publishers' offering fewer supplementary materials to accompany textbooks for social studies than for math or science. It may result from teachers' belief that less supplementary material is needed in social studies than in other areas. Or it may mean that elementary teachers value social studies less and do not choose to spend limited funds for supplementary social studies materials.

Publishers expect heavy emphasis on printed materials, especially textbooks, to continue. Schneider and Van Sickle concluded, on the basis of a comprehensive survey of major publishers, "The traditional textbook will continue to dominate . . ." (Schneider and Van Sickle 1979, p. 465).

Use of Published Supplementary Materials

In addition to the supplemental materials which accompany specific textbooks, various kinds of published supplementary curriculum materials can be used in social studies instruction. The most-widely-used supplementary materials in elementary and secondary school classrooms are maps, globes, and charts (Weiss 1978, pp. B88-89). The second most-commonly-used supplementary materials are filmstrips and 16mm films (Weiss 1978, pp. B76-77). According to a study by the Agency for Instructional Television, approximately 60 percent of secondary teachers use film at least once every two weeks (Fontana 1980, p. 51).

Elementary teachers occasionally use "hands-on" materials, but senior high teachers rarely use them. Elementary teachers also are more likely than secondary school instructors to use photographs, posters, and study prints. Neither the elementary nor secondary student is exposed very much to televised instruction or programmed instruction (Weiss 1978, pp. B77-78, B88-89).

While only three percent of secondary teachers have never used film, more than 30 percent have never used television (EPIE 1977, Tables 2.15 and 2.16). Yet the Agency for Instructional Television's study showed that more than 50 percent of secondary teachers and administrators appeared to have positive attitudes toward the potential of instructional television, agreeing that it had great possibilities for stimulating teacher creativity and student interest and curiosity. Perhaps part of the explanation for the discrepancy between attitudes and use lies in the same study's finding that more than 91 percent of secondary teachers had a videotape recorder available, but only 17 percent had been trained to use the equipment (Fontana 1980, pp. 59-60).

In comparing elementary teachers' use of supplementary materials in social studies, science, and math, the RTI data indicate that somewhat more teachers use audiovisual materials in social studies than in science; for example, 17 percent more 4-6 teachers use filmstrips in social studies than in science. Substantially more teachers use audiovisual materials in social studies than in math (e.g., 14 percent use filmstrips in 4-6 math as compared with 72 percent in 4-6 social studies). Much more use is made of hands-on material in both science and math than in social studies. Only slightly greater numbers of teachers use standard television in social studies instruction than in math or science, although television would seem most directly applicable to social studies (Weiss 1978, pp. B68-79).

In general, most teachers make slight use of published supplementary materials. A recent nationwide study reported that the largest number of respondents said they "neither have used, nor plan to use, any (supplementary materials)" (EPIE 1977, p. 8). In summarizing various research studies, another report suggests that only about a quarter of social studies teachers use a variety of materials to supplement the text (Wiley 1977, p. 70).

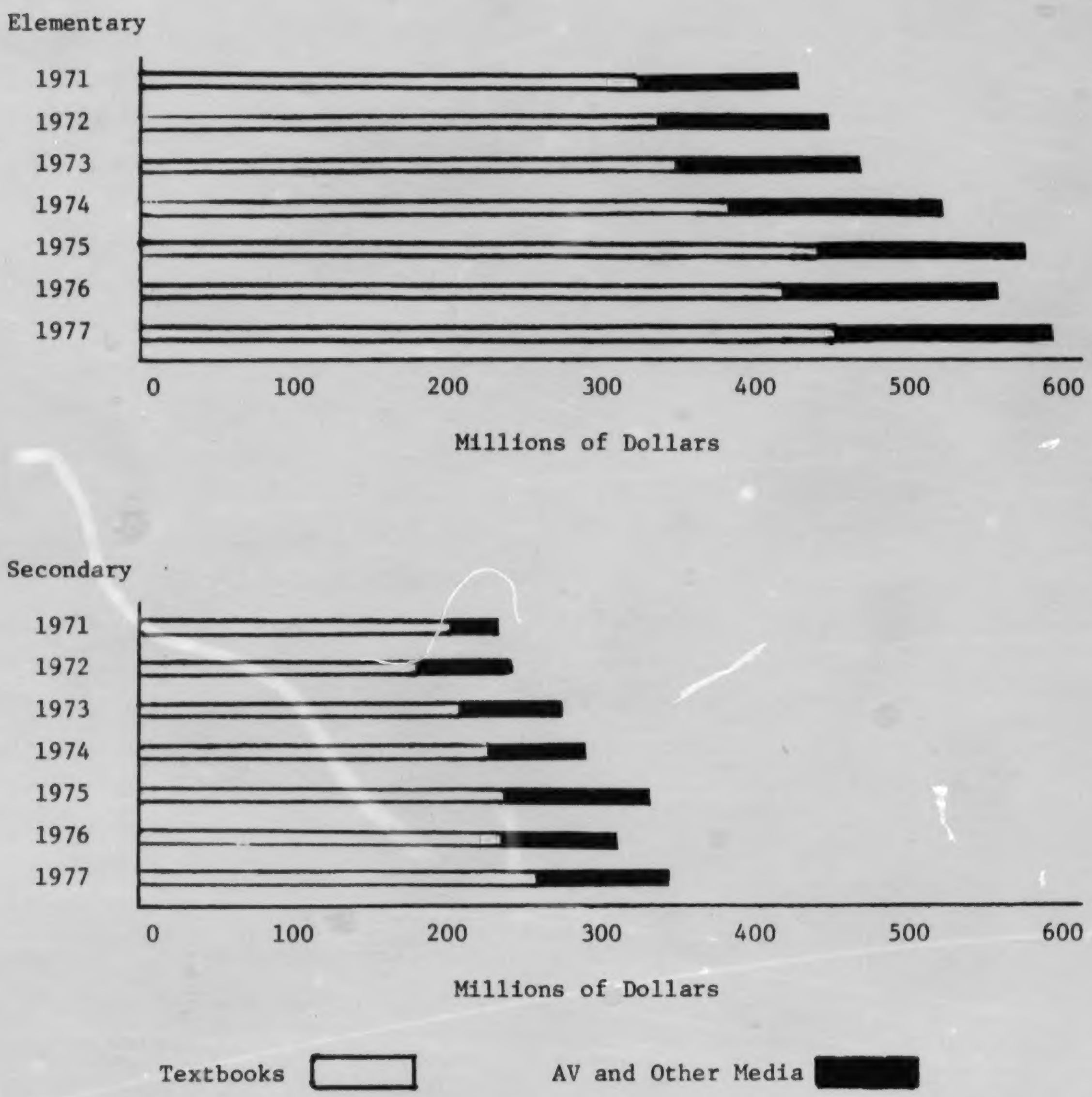
Publishers report a continuing and substantial demand for certain kinds of supplementary printed materials. They project a "comparatively steady demand for supplementary books, workbooks, and, increasingly, spirit masters . . ." (Schneider and Van Sickle 1979, p. 465). However, publishers emphasize that demand for these supplementary printed materials is slight compared to the huge market for their hardback basal texts, as shown in Figure 1.

Locally Developed Materials

Some teachers develop their own materials rather than using published instructional products. When EPIE surveyed teachers, the researchers found that locally developed materials accounted for 30.4 percent of all the materials teachers reported using. Since the EPIE researchers considered this finding implausible, they elicited a further breakdown from the 11,918 teachers responding to their second survey. They found that of the locally developed materials reportedly in use, 52 percent were "worksheets or exercises" and another 27 percent were tests or progress evaluations. In addition, 72 percent of all locally developed materials claimed to be in use were reported by elementary teachers. Secondary teachers developed a higher percentage of tests, but elementary teachers developed a higher percentage of worksheets or exercises (EPIE 1977, p. 8).

Figure 1

SALES OF TEXTBOOKS AND MATERIALS, 1971-1977



(Association of American Publishers, 1977 Industry Statistics)

Teachers report that they lack time to develop materials other than worksheets and tests that stem from textbook content. For example, a case study report of a faculty that attempted to develop materials concluded that, "The packets (teacher-created materials) apparently were created at great personal-time cost to the teachers" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:52). While these materials were viewed by some as "a new approach to teaching social studies," others saw them as "stuff we have been using for years, but now redesigned into packets" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:52).

Lack of time, coupled with lack of district financial support for local development and the "comfort" teachers seem to derive from textbooks, has prevented local development from becoming a significant curriculum materials force in social studies instruction. Given the heavy demands on teachers' time, it is not surprising that most of them welcome textbooks--in effect, packaged curricula.

Impact of Materials on Student Learning

Experiences in school are likely to have a deep and lasting effect on students. A recent nationwide study concluded that the longer one stays in school, the more one knows (Hyman, Wright, and Reed 1975). The most likely source of this knowledge is the curriculum material, especially textbooks, used in school. This conclusion is consistent with evidence about the dominant place of the textbook in curriculum planning and day-to-day instruction.

A recent study by Mullis (1979) substantiates assumptions about the impact of curriculum materials on student acquisition of knowledge. Mullis worked with data from a nationally representative sample of 17-year-olds who were part of the National Assessment of Educational Progress testing program in the spring of 1976. She found that curricular and instructional variables--in particular, the amount of time spent using materials such as textbooks--had a very significant effect on student learning of political knowledge and mathematics. The effect was more powerful than the students' type of school or home environment.

Numerous small-scale studies have indicated that the use of specific textbooks and/or other materials in school can lead to certain knowledge learning by students. The materials that have made a difference in student learning were distinguished by clearly stated objectives and lessons that were connected to the specified ends of instruction (Martorella 1977).

In general, students who are exposed systematically to well-developed curriculum materials are able to achieve certain knowledge objectives. Time on task, as the task is presented through particular materials, does make a difference in student learning.

Reactions of Teachers, Students, and the Public to Curriculum Materials

What do teachers think of their textbooks? In general, they seem to be satisfied. According to a recent EPIE survey (1977, p. 23), 85 percent of teacher respondents believed that their textbooks are "for the most part well suited to most of their students." Seventy-one percent answered "Yes, willingly," to the question: "Are you going to use this material again?" Teachers believed that the textbooks facilitate learning. Fifty-three percent reported that "most students learn somewhat well from the material." Thirty-seven percent agreed that "most of my students seem to learn exceptionally well from this material." Another recent national study (Klein, Tye, and Wright 1979) indicated that most teachers believe their materials are appropriate for about three-fourths of their students. About one-fourth of the social studies teachers in the RTI survey indicated they would prefer to use another text, while about one-half preferred the one they were currently using (Weiss 1978, p. 100).

Not only do teachers use instructional materials and feel confident about them, they consider them crucial in instruction. In the RTI study, social studies teachers K-12 rated "obtaining information about instructional materials" as one of their top two greatest "unmet needs for assistance" (Weiss 1978, pp. B107, B110). Among the problems mentioned by social studies teachers as "serious," two of the top three problems were related to materials: "lack of materials for individualizing" and "insufficient funds for purchasing equipment and supplies" (Weiss 1978, p. 158). The head of social studies at one high school in the case studies stated firmly, "Our teachers do not need staff development. We need better materials . . . ideas (are) good but nuts and bolts help is needed" (Stake and Easley 1978, 13:64).

Many teachers who were interviewed as part of the school case study project expressed strong faith in their textbooks. Teachers made statements such as: "Almost every teacher needs a good set of materials from which to start social studies instruction" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 3:33) and "The social studies curriculum at Eastland is a textbook curriculum--because parents want it and the district philosophy supports it" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:74). The classroom observers who helped conduct the school case studies made numerous summary statements similar to this one: "Teachers felt surely that all their colleagues could provide first-rate education if you gave them . . . the text and demonstration materials they needed" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 5:24-25).

How do students feel about textbooks as compared with other kinds of materials? The only systematically collected data reported on student preference were in the Goodlad study (Wright 1980). About 70 percent of the elementary students reported that they liked using books, about the same percentage as those liking to use records or tapes, maps and globes, and television. They liked books more than newspapers, worksheets, learning machines, and kits, but not as much as games, films, or filmstrips.

Among middle school students, about 72 percent said they liked textbooks very much or "somewhat," slightly more than said they liked using other books and worksheets. A somewhat smaller percentage of senior high students liked textbooks (68 percent); they had a slightly greater preference for worksheets. Neither middle school or senior high students liked textbooks as much as such other learning modes as television, games, films, filmstrips, and newspapers.

The community also has a stake in the materials used in the classroom. For parents, the fact that their child does or does not bring home a textbook is thought to be an indicator of the student's in-class endeavors. Reviewing the content of the material provides further evidence of what the child is learning or at least studying. In one case study a teacher stated, "The society in which we teach dictates the use of a textbook . . . so even though I don't use it in class, I send it home every now and then to keep my parents at bay" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:51).

Thus, the textbook becomes an important avenue for the parent to enter the inner sanctum of the classroom. The Goodlad study reports that "approximately 95 percent of the parents surveyed indicated that they do not advise or help make decisions about what or how subjects are taught or about what textbooks or learning materials are used"; however, "nearly 50 percent indicated that they would like to" (Klein, Tye, and Wright 1979, p. 246). Special interest groups from the community, such as ethnic, business, and women's groups, also find curriculum materials an effective mechanism for conveying their concerns to teachers and students.

Significance of Findings about Use and Importance of Materials

The findings presented here suggest that curriculum materials, especially textbooks, are an important educational variable in social studies classrooms. They are used extensively, and they may affect learning significantly.

Teachers and administrators like textbooks. Such books are cost-efficient, and they save time by facilitating quick, justifiable decisions about what students shall study, in what sequence, and for what purpose. For teachers, texts also help with important classroom management and control functions. Texts can help students keep quiet, complete assignments on time, do work by themselves, develop good study habits, and be attentive in class. The observer in one case study concluded, "River Acres teachers perceive their largest needs as being instructional materials and tactics for grabbing and holding students' interest, thereby minimizing discipline problems" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:9). Texts seem better suited to the demands of 30 or 40 students than inquiry-oriented materials which require students to wander about the classroom looking for data to test hypotheses.

In the past three or four years, texts have been important in the movement of both teachers and parents to return to the basics. As social studies moves away from experimenting with scheduling (such as minicourse patterns) and relevancy or inquiry-oriented content and returns to traditional courses in American history and government, basal texts seem more appropriate than more innovative products. In one case study the observer noted, "Traditional text series occupy the shelves. Teachers who tried some of the newer curriculum have changed back. Except for the impact it produced on the commercial texts, the NSF curriculum development venture in Urbanville is a thing of the past" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 5:10). Summarizing all the case study findings, Stake and Easley write, ". . . right now is not a time of much change. In the schools we visited we found renewed attention to a traditional curriculum and little expressed need for learning materials not currently available" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:25).

Given the widespread use of curriculum materials and the importance attached to materials by teachers, students, parents, and community groups, it is indeed possible to consider curriculum materials as perhaps the primary determinants of curriculum planning and classroom instruction. Thus, it is important to know about the materials that are being used in social studies classrooms. In particular, it seems important to know about the contents of textbooks--the format, readability, subject themes, and instructional strategies.

Textbook Content of Yesterday and Today

Textbook content reflects a society's conventions. In "normal" times, conventions tend to be maintained. The stability of the society tends to be reflected in the stability and constancy of the curriculum and textbook content from one generation to another. However, conventions may change over time, if slowly, and these changes are likely to influence modification of textbook content. For example, the 1960s were years of social upheaval that brought changes in the culture, including changes in the curricula and textbooks of the schools. "Back-to-basics" is a current movement that has influenced textbook content.

Textbook Content During the Past Twenty Years

During the past 20 years numerous analytical and evaluative studies of the content of social studies textbooks have been published. In her review, Wiley (1977, p. 85) found more than 50 such studies. A recent search of ERIC documents, education journals, and dissertation abstracts revealed 35 more such studies completed since 1975 (see appendix). The appendix includes only studies in which the author used some set of criteria or category system for analyzing textbook content. Impressionistic studies were not included.

The studies reported in both Wiley and the ERIC search are generally of four types. One type of study analyzes particular social science content--such as geography or economic concepts--in particular textbooks. A second type of study analyzes special issues or concerns, such as the image of Arabs, the portrayal of political parties, or the treatment of population issues. A third type of study analyzes particular processes or skills in texts, such as the readability of texts or the inclusion of reflective inquiry exercises. A fourth type of study is concerned with general analysis of particular categories of texts; such studies are often done by state departments of education or school districts involved in textbook selection. Of the four types of studies, the most frequent in the recent ERIC search was analysis of special issues or concerns. Although Wiley found and reviewed numerous analyses of social science content, only four were found in our recent ERIC search.

As with any research, the rigor of the content analysis studies varies considerably. Although some are systematic and comprehensive, many are primarily impressionistic. However, these studies are the best available indicators of patterns of textbook content during the past generation. Following are major general findings about distinguishing and enduring features of widely used textbooks of the past 20 years.

Most social studies textbooks are surveys of particular information linked to curriculum patterns found across the United States. As reported by Lengel and Superka, there is a well established and nationwide curriculum pattern in the United States. Within this pattern certain topics are likely to be taught at each elementary grade level and certain disciplinary subjects at each secondary level. Publishers produce materials which fit the subject-matter expectations of this curriculum pattern, thereby aiding significantly in the maintenance of the pattern.

At the elementary level, publishers produce sets of elementary social studies textbooks to fit the common K-6 expanding environments curriculum pattern. As suggested earlier, these topics are adhered to in most of the current generation of elementary textbook series.

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Although the pattern of expanding environments has been generally followed for some 50 years, there have been some recent variations. One change has been in the sixth-grade curriculum, which until seven to ten years ago commonly focused on Latin America and Canada (America's neighbors). However, in the past few editions of textbook series, the most common topical area for sixth grade has become world regions--a curriculum which includes Latin America and Canada but extends to other global areas. Another change seems to be currently in the making in the first grade. The grade 1 curriculum has traditionally focused on the family. Of 15 current first-grade books, eight refer in their title or are primarily focused on the family; the remaining seven focus more on the school or the child's life in general. A social studies managing editor from a major publishing house reported in personal conversation that this change is resulting from teachers' expressed discomfort in dealing with issues relating to the family when so many of today's children are living in nontraditional and changing family styles (Goldstein 1980).

At the secondary level, textbook offerings conform to the generally established pattern of disciplines and subject areas at each grade level. Reading level is not as dominant a concern at secondary levels, although it is still very important to teachers. Thus, there is somewhat more flexibility in the use of secondary textbooks; for example, publishers may market a world cultures text for grades 9-12 and teachers can use the book at any of those grade levels.

The secondary pattern has been in place for many years, but some modifications have occurred. For example, change has come at the ninth grade, which once was dominated by the study of civics. Currently there are 23 textbooks for ninth-grade civics, but world history and world cultures offerings number 30. However, this situation may be changing again. Five new civics texts were published by major companies in 1980 and sales have been brisk. Other changes can be seen in the expansion of European history, formerly the most predominant course at tenth grade, to world history. We found only three senior high textbooks pertaining exclusively to European history.

Because textbooks seem to be more influential in determining what is taught at particular grade levels than other factors, such as state frameworks or consultant recommendations, it is important to acknowledge the changes in textbooks over the years and the impact the texts have had in changing or at least varying the established curriculum pattern. A critical question that is not answered in available research is how textbook publishers decide to make changes, such as moving away from study of Latin America and Canada in grade 6 to world cultures. The impact of such decisions is enormous because so many students are affected; yet we know little about the factors that influence publishers' decisions.

Widely used textbooks have tended to be alike in format and style. Textbooks in the same subject have tended to present similar information and interpretations (EPIE 1977, p. 23). Books are of similar size, which seems to be determined by publishers' judgments of what size books students are able to manage at various grade levels. The books also contain a comparable number of pages at each grade level, which relates to the price deemed acceptable as well as to student and content considerations.

Frances FitzGerald noted the basic similarities of high school American history textbooks. She concluded: "The books of the seventies are somewhat more diverse than those of the fifties, but still they differ from one another not much more than one year's crop of Detroit sedans" (Fitzgerald 1979, p. 46). Her explanation was as follows.

> Since the public schools across the country now spend less than one percent of their budgets on buying books . . . publishers cannot afford to have more than one or two basic histories on the market at the same time. Consequently, all of them try to compete for the center of the market, designing their books not to please anyone in particular but to be acceptable to as many people as possible (FitzGerald 1979, p. 46).

The same basic similarities can be found in elementary social studies textbook sets. The differences in these books are more a matter of degree than of radical departures in content, format, or instructional procedures. For example, some current series define affective objectives; others do not. Most publishers specify certain skills that their texts emphasize; the skills are similar but organized differently. Some series list concepts covered in the materials; others do not. History is introduced in some first-grade texts but not until second or third in other series. In some teacher's guides, the instructional suggestions are bound in a separate section at the beginning or end of the student text; in others instructional information is contained in margin entries. Most of these differences are minor compared to the impact of the series' similarities.

Elementary and secondary texts have tended to emphasize transmission of information. Textbook content has been largely factual. Most books have not been designed to develop analytic ability; they contain little content that will help students to think critically (Wiley 1977, pp. 80-1[illegible]2). Factual errors are rare, but distortion of reality due to omission of sensitive information is common.

In a recent study of textbooks and political socialization, Harrington used multivariate analysis to assess the content of 130 social studies textbooks used in grades 1-8 in six New York state school districts chosen for representativeness. His findings show that there are indeed variations among textbooks in their treatments of three political variables: (1) attitudes about political authorities, (2) the role of a citizen vis-a-vis political authorities and regimes, and (3) politics, the nation, and democracy.

> For political socialization implications of our content analysis of the text materials, we found that while political authorities were, overall, treated very positively and described as benevolent, accountable, and approachable, more balanced views of political authorities were found in older grades' textbooks. In addition, the texts of the older grades were more likely to include material on pluralism and conflict (Harrington 1980, p. 496).

Harrington also found a difference in the type of social studies material districts use. Middle-class districts were more likely than working-class districts to use materials that take a more critical view of the three variables: "Textbooks move, over the grades, to a more balanced picture of political authorities and more discussion of conflict and pluralism, but those texts used in middle-class communities move more than texts of working-class communities" (Harrington 1980, p. 498). Harrington concludes:

> We cannot expect elementary school texts, at whatever grade level for any district, to be surrogate manuals in practical politics. Nor do we envisage texts that spend their pages in harping criticism of each aspect of the

> political and civic life of the nation. On the other hand, we have found that some districts' grades employ materials that portray a political system that probably never was and never can be, while others provide emphases that may help their readers develop a more critical stance (Harrington 1980, p. 498).

Typical textbooks have tended to avoid controversial or sensitive topics. When included, these topics usually have been treated superficially. For instance, social class variations, differences in socioeconomic status, and their consequences, have not been discussed substantially or accurately (Wiley, pp. 80-119). Coverage of conflicts between individuals and groups has usually been avoided; typical textbooks have tended to emphasize harmony, social stability, and consensus in their portrayals of society (FitzGerald 1979, pp. 152-159).

Two recent studies further illustrate Wiley and Fitzgerald's findings. In an analysis of the treatment of political parties in secondary history and civics texts, Rinehart concluded that while party function in policy direction was stressed somewhat more than had been anticipated, neither individuals or parties generally were portrayed as corrupt or overly indulgent in patronage activities (Rinehart 1979, pp. 14, 30). Looking at the treatment of right-to-work issues in textbooks, the National Right to Work Committee found more than 50 American history and government textbooks that did not discuss the right-to-work issue at all (Classroom Treatment of the Right to Work 1978, pp. 92-95).

Typical textbooks have treated aspects of social science and history content inadequately. Social scientists have criticized texts for not presenting their disciplines accurately. A study sponsored by the American Political Science Association (Remy and Anderson 1971) expressed strong dissatisfaction with the treatment of political science content in elementary and secondary school textbooks. In particular, this APSA report castigated typical civics and American government textbooks for failure to reflect up-to-date scholarship in political science.

Studies of economic content in textbooks also have been very critical (Wiley 1977, p. 96). The same can be said for geography (Wiley 1977, p. 89). The criticisms of social science content, or the lack of such content, in elementary textbooks has been especially harsh.

While analysis of the social science content in textbooks was a fairly common undertaking in the early 1970s, a recent ERIC search showed only one such study published since 1977, when the Wiley review was completed (see Appendix, Type 1 Studies).

Textbooks have tended to be difficult to read. Most students seem to read at a level of capability that is too low to comprehend most of the texts that have been written for them (Wiley 1977, p. 197). Perhaps the most common complaint of teachers about textbooks today is readability. This corresponds with their persistent concern that students don't read as well as they should. This concern has plagued textbook publishers, who strive to demonstrate the "readability" of their texts, only to have teachers reply, "But my kids can't read them."

Roger Johnson's research on the readability of elementary social studies texts may shed some light on the dilemma. In a 1975 report, he stated that the average reading level of current texts, determined by readability formulas, had decreased from levels of texts published before 1972. The readability range within texts had also decreased. Still he warned that materials were getting harder to read because of factors such as the length of the books, addition of new concepts, the need for materials not covered in the books, and the use of more primary source material (Johnson 1975, pp. 1-6).

After conducting an exhaustive review of literature about social studies materials and readability, Lunstrum declared: "There is a crisis in reading in the social studies" (Lunstrum 1976, p. 10). He called upon teachers and publishers to pay more attention to systematic instruction in skills of literal comprehension, interpretation, and critical reading.

Elementary textbooks include lessons in skill development much more frequently than do secondary materials. The most typical skills have to do with reading maps, globes, charts, diagrams, and graphs. Other common skills are critical thinking, decision making, research, communication, and--sometimes--social skills. These skills are called by a variety of names in the publishers' explanations, but they tend to fall into the above-mentioned categories.

The skills to be developed are similar across texts, but the designs for skill development vary considerably. The first difference is the way in which the publisher presents skill development. In some texts skill development activities are presented throughout the units, with students stopping to do activities at various points in their reading. In other texts, skills are presented in special sections at the ends of chapters. In still other series, skill sections (especially map and globe exercises) are presented at the end of the book. The plan for skill development is usually contained within the teacher's guide.

Secondary textbooks include activities that call for more advanced or complex performance of the skills treated in the lower grades. However, relatively greater emphasis in the high school grades is placed on content coverage rather than on skills in dealing with information. Students may be asked to practice various thinking skills, but the authors seem to presume that these skills have been taught in elementary or middle school grades. Thus, the high school texts tend to include little direct skill instruction.

In summary, modal social studies textbooks tend to be conventional, as indicated by the preceding discussion of findings derived from content analyses. The emphasis is on transmitting information about "safe" topics. "Safe" (noncontroversial) textbooks are likely to be acceptable and salable. According to FitzGerald (1979, p. 46), American history texts represent "a kind of lowest common demoninator of American tastes." The same can be said of textbooks in other subject-matter fields.

How Have Textbooks Changed?

Textbooks tend to change with changes in social conventions. What the public will accept, or expect, in textbooks is different today from what it was 20 years ago. Thus, today's social studies textbooks are different from textbooks of the recent past in such dimensions as (1) presentation of some controversial topics, (2) treatment of women and minority groups, (3) use of graphics, and (4) varied use of activities to enhance learning.

Following is a discussion of changes in American history, civics, and government texts of today, as compared to their counterparts of 20 years ago. The subjects of American history, civics, and government appear to be useful indicators of change in the entire field of social studies texts, because these courses reach more students than any others in the secondary school curriculum. The public also endorses these courses, as shown by the most recent Gallup poll of the public's attitudes toward the schools. A nationally representative sample of adults ranked "Civics/government and U.S. history" as the most essential courses in the social studies curriculum. Geography lagged far behind, and other social studies courses did not appear on the list of 11 essential subjects cited by the national sample as basic to the school curriculum (Gallup 1979). Given the public's interest in and support of American history, civics, and government courses, changes in the textbooks in these fields probably reveal rather accurately the boundaries of acceptable textbook content. However, these books do appear to be different from what they once were. According to FitzGerald (1979, p. 7), "The textbook histories have changed, some of them to such an extent that an adult would find them unrecognizable."

The most striking change in the textbooks is their slick use of graphics and their general attractiveness. Textbooks of today are much more visually attractive. The design is sophisticated and eye-catching, the illustrations numerous (FitzGerald 1979, pp. 14-15).

Twenty years ago, texts tended to look dreary and forbidding, with print extending from margin to margin, broken only occasionally with "file" photos. In contrast, today's texts are produced with concern for aesthetic appeal as well as academic value.

The most eye-catching feature of the texts is their use of photos, drawings, reproductions of paintings, and so on. While graphics in the textbooks tend to make them more attractive, they also serve an instructional function. One of the important changes in textbooks within the past ten years has been the emphasis on learning from pictures.

Textbooks today still gloss over controversial and sensitive topics. However, today's books tend to present more accurate information than did those of the past. Several topics considered controversial or sensitive in the recent past appear in textbooks today. In particular, today's texts include more discussion of our society's problems and shortcomings than did those of the past (Fetsko 1979; FitzGerald 1979, pp. 10-14). For example, in a comparative analysis of six high school American history textbooks, Herz found that the cold war was treated in most, and that in most there was some acknowledgment (albeit simplistic) of America's responsibility in the promotion of cold war tensions (Herz 1979, pp. 118-122).

However, certain topics are still virtually off-limits. For example, only one American government textbook--*American Political Behavior*, published by Ginn and Company--includes extensive treatment of the relationship of socioeconomic status to political influence. This is the only government text that presents extensive and realistic treatment of inequalities associated with variation in social class. The term "social class" does not even appear in the indexes of the other leading American government texts.

Textbooks today depict the rich ethnic and social diversity of the American people. This is a marked change from the texts of the 1950s, which "showed only people who looked like Anglo-Saxon Protestants" (FitzGerald 1979, p. 82). The text authors of the past depicted a homogeneous society, which of course did not exist. Numerous studies of textbook content in the 1960s documented the inadequate treatment of ethnic and racial minorities in texts (Kane 1970; Smith and Patrick 1967; Remy and Anderson 1971).

According to FitzGerald (1979, pp. 82-83), "It was not until the late sixties that the texts began to picture Americans with other than WASP faces and names." Today it has become conventional, and expected, for textbooks to show a racially/ethnically mixed society. For example, in an article entitled, "The American Indian: No Longer a Forgotten American in U.S. History Texts Published in the 1970s," Garcia concludes from an analysis of 20 secondary texts that texts are moving away from the more established historical interpretations of U.S. history and including content which promotes multiethnic education (Garcia 1980, pp. 152, 164). Similarly, using quantitative techniques, Pearson found that textbooks in 1973 more fully described the experiences of black people and treated the experiences more positively than did 1963 texts (Pearson 1976). The same can be said about the portrayal of females in textbooks (Rosenberg 1978, p. 71).

Under pressure from minority and women's groups, publishers have paid meticulous attention to the way in which people are portrayed through illustrations and narration. FitzGerald writes, "The current texts represent the United States as a multiracial society to the extent that they include some material on all the large racial and ethnic groups, and that their photographs show people of all colors (also of all ages and both sexes) and suggest that even white Americans come from different ethnic backgrounds" (FitzGerald 1979, p. 98).

The quality of social science content has improved slightly in some textbooks. In their studies, FitzGerald, Wiley, and Fetsko found that present-day textbooks more often include basic social science concepts, generalizations, and descriptions of scientific methods of inquiry than do older textbooks and that social science content is likely to be treated more accurately. For example, FitzGerald writes:

> What is common to the current texts--and makes all of them different from those of the fifties--is their engagement with the social sciences. In eighth-grade histories, the "concepts" of social science make fleeting appearances. But these "concepts" are the very foundation stones of various elementary-school social studies series (FitzGerald 1979, p. 13).

After reviewing numerous content analysis studies, Wiley concludes that various analyses of political science content in textbooks show an improvement in the books from the 1960s to the 1970s. Improvements include organization by themes or concepts, values issues dealt with more frequently and forthrightly, more data from social science research, and more realistic presentation of information (Wiley 1977, p. 119). Similarly, in looking at both American and world history textbooks, Fetsko concludes that 1970 texts are more likely than 1950s texts to include raw data, teach social science methodologies, and include the "neglected social sciences," i.e., sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and psychology (Fetsko 1979, pp. 54-55).

Although some analysts give current texts higher marks than older texts for their treatment of social science content, others are not as satisfied. Looking at sociology texts, Smith did not find that the new social studies movement had made much difference in the sociology content presented in current secondary sociology texts (Smith 1979). In an analysis of economic issues and concepts in high school world history, U.S. history, sociology, and government texts, Main concluded that "social studies textbooks propagate misconceptions about the way a voluntary exchange economic system operates and about how government intervention works." While acknowledging that "we (economists) cannot expect the books to teach 'the economist's way of thinking' . . . we can expect them to 'get the facts straight' and perhaps foster some understanding of the way in which a voluntary exchange economy operates" (Main 1978, p. 118).

The most logical conclusion to be drawn from the few recent studies we have on the presentation of social science content in textbooks is that there has been some improvement in some texts. However, most textbooks, and some of the most widely used texts, still do not provide adequate treatment of social science content or methodology.

The pedagogy of textbooks is more diverse. Some textbooks include lessons that require students to apply information and ideas--to perform systematically at higher cognitive levels. Textbooks of the past tended to foster a "read-recite" style of teaching and learning. They consisted of narrative chapters with end-of-chapter questions to guide recitation. Today's texts often include primary source material and tabular and graphic data in combination with narrative text; civics and government textbooks include case studies. Learning activities are included within and at the end of chapters. These activities are more varied than formerly in style and in the responses elicited from students (Fetsko 1979, pp. 54-55; FitzGerald 1979, pp. 12-13; Patrick 1977, pp. 206-213).

In summary, some notable changes have occurred during the past 20 years in secondary-school civics, government, and history textbooks. These changes pertain to inclusion of ethnic and racial minorities and females, social science content, sensitive or controversial topics, and varied pedagogical activities such as lessons requiring analysis of case studies and primary sources. In addition, texts are much more attractive. However, in general, the textbooks continue to reflect social conventions. Thus, certain topics or pieces of information are off-limits. The consequence is distortion of some sensitive and controversial topics.

Did the "Projects" Have an Impact?

Textbooks and other curriculum materials were developed by federally funded projects during the 1960s and 1970s. These materials were designed as alternatives to traditional textbooks. They were meant to be innovative and to lead to significant changes in materials used in schools. What has been the impact of "project materials?" To what extent do the changes in today's texts stem from "project" directives and influence?

Various studies have documented the limited use of most project materials (Weiss 1978, pp. 77-87; Wiley 1977, p. 323). For the most part, new social studies materials were never widely adopted. Where they were adopted, they have not stood the test of time. Many teachers have reported that project materials based on the inquiry method of teaching have been difficult to use with the majority of students.

However, Marker's study of why schools abandoned new social studies materials after having used them for a period of years suggests that the reasons for abandonment are more complex. Marker found the primary contributors to abandonment were the loss of an innovative material's major advocate, unrealistic expectations on the part of the users regarding how an innovation would perform, and problems resulting from the misapplication of the innovation. Materials were not abandoned because they were no longer seen by teachers and administrators as "new" or because there were too few incentives for continuing to use the materials. Marker does point out that an important factor, unaccounted for in most literature on adoption, is the change over time in teachers, student bodies, administrators, and the society in general: "What was a logical adoption five years ago may be just as logical an abandonment in today's situations, e.g., declining reading abilities, declining enrollments, increasing class sizes. Such situational changes appear to be an important variable in decisions to abandon some of the 'new social studies' materials" (Marker 1980, p. 55).

In addition to user information as evidence of the impact of the new social studies, some commentators have noticed the limited sales figures of published project materials and have reported that the federally funded projects have had little impact on textbook content and commercial publishers. Ponder, for example, concluded that "little has changed since the 1950s" (Ponder 1979, p. 515).

The direct impact of the projects, as would be indicated by wide-scale distribution and high sales figures, has been slight. Among the project materials, only American Political Behavior (APB)--a 12th-grade government text developed at Indiana University with funds from USOE--has been a persistent top seller (Turner and Haley 1977). From 1972 to 1977 the average sales volume of this textbook was more than 60,000 copies per year, which made it a leading seller in its field during this five-year period.

The High School Geography Project (HSGP) materials, published by Macmillan, also have fared relatively well. As many as 25 percent of all high school geography teachers appear to have used these materials in the early 1970s (Helburn and Helburn 1978, p. 18). Both the HSGP and APB materials recently have been issued in revised editions, a sign of commercial success. However, these two projects have been exceptions to the trend of low sales and limited use of published project materials.

Some project materials have, however, had significant and extensive indirect effects on publishers and their products. Some of the project materials have affected the kinds of textbooks developed recently by commercial publishers. Wiley, for example, indicated the apparent indirect impact of the "projects" on textbook content in economics and political science. She reported that analyses of economic and political science texts show an updating and improvement of content that reflects current research and standards of these academic disciplines (Wiley 1977, pp. 117-119).

Wiley also made an interesting observation: "A visit to the publishers' exhibits at an annual convention of the National Council for the Social Studies leaves one with the impression that the 'new social studies' movement has had a fairly substantial impact on commercial textbook publishers. In the early 1970s, many commercially developed materials resembling project materials in appearance and substance began to crop up more frequently in publishers' convention displays. However, this is only an impression: no controlled study has been done to determine whether recent publishers' products have indeed been influenced strongly by the project models" (Wiley 1977, p. 312).

Since Wiley's statement, at least two "controlled," systematic content analysis studies of the impact of the new social studies on textbooks have been completed. In one study Fetsko analyzed world history texts to determine whether they contained particular new social studies concepts and methodology. Analysis was done on a yes/no basis; no attempt was made to assess to what extent or how well reform ideas were presented in the books. His conclusion was that "the federal government's efforts to improve social studies instruction by influencing textbook publishers to upgrade the quality of their materials has achieved some success" (Fetsko 1979, p. 54).

However, in a study of high school sociology texts, Smith (1979) found less evidence of impact from the new social studies work. Analyzing succeeding editions of three leading sociology texts, Smith addressed the extent to which sociological terminology (as commonly found in college texts) was treated in each text, labeling treatment as minimal, moderate, or extensive. His finding was that the new social studies reform movement resulted in "minimum" change in sociology texts.

The projects appear to have had much more influence on certain content themes and concepts in textbooks than on teaching strategies. Most projects stressed learning through inquiry, but inquiry-based lessons do not dominate the typical textbooks of today, although they are present. Teachers seem to endorse this trend; fewer than half the teachers surveyed report use of any inquiry teaching strategies (Weiss 1978, p. 148). However, the problem may be, in part, with the "inquiry" label. Schneider and Van Sickle report: "Substitute the term 'decision-making' and you obtain a different picture" (Schneider and Van Sickle 1979, p. 465). Their comprehensive survey of publishers indicated that consumer demand for textbook lessons about decision-making is considerable.

Whatever the label, inquiry (decision-making) activities more frequently appear in textbooks today because of the projects. An editor of a major textbook publishing house described the current trend: "We're not going back to where we were before--back to the old 1950s style of text. Publishers will incorporate inquiry strategies into the new texts--although the balance will be more traditional than inquiry" (Jantzen 1979, p. 70).

In summary, the projects did not, for the most part, develop best-selling curriculum materials. Thus, their direct impact on the school curriculum was in most instances slight. Their indirect effects have been more significant. Certain differences in current textbooks seem to stem from ideas and directives that came from the various curriculum development projects of the 1960s and 1970s.

Significance of Findings About Textbook Content

Changes in textbooks have not resulted in extensive variety among the books in a particular field, such as American government or history. The leading textbooks in a given subject area tend to change together in response to social pressures and/or consumer demand. Thus, given the extensive use of textbooks and the high level of similarity among them, it is reasonable to conclude that the textbooks represent a virtual national curriculum in particular subject areas. Much of the diversity that exists results mainly from teacher adaptation in the use of materials.

However, it is a mistake to view textbooks monolithically. Despite the similarities among products, there are--within limits--real choices to be made by textbook adoption committees. For example, the differences between American Political Behavior and Magruder's American Government are substantial.

The variations in quality of textbooks in a given subject are also important. The quality of writing, design, instructional strategies, and other dimensions differs significantly. Some texts obviously are done more creatively than others; some texts are better teaching tools than others.

Finally, it is important to recognize the relatively high quality of the textbooks. Although content studies of textbooks have revealed some important weaknesses, criticism of textbooks should not obscure their value. Robert Rasmussen of the Association of American Publishers has solid grounds for claiming that "American textbooks have been the envy of the world. In content, in appearance, and in durability, they reveal the tremendous investment that publishers have made in them . . . " (Rasmussen 1978, p. 10).

The content and style of typical textbooks suggest that the best of these materials can be effective instructional means to certain important objectives in the social studies, such as acquisition of basic knowledge and skills. Certain other objectives, such as the learning of various attitudes or social skills, can best be met through the use of other educational media and practices.

It is important that teachers take note of what instructional purposes a good text should, and should not, serve. Roselle has made this point very well:

> Not all textbooks make for bad teaching. Of course, textbooks have undesirable effects--if teachers require students to memorize the textbook, if teachers do not make available to students other sources of information and stimulation, if teachers accept every interpretation of the textbook without question, if teachers lean on the textbook as the supreme authority, rather than as a tool. It all depends on who is using the book.
>
> In the hands of an untrained, unimaginative, and unconscientious teacher the textbook can be a terrible obstacle to real learning. However, used by a professional--by an intelligent, creative, and well-trained teacher who knows that the textbook is just one source--a good textbook can be of considerable value in the classroom. It can provide needed information, organize details into meaningful patterns, show relationships, and, yes, even stimulate thinking (Roselle 1980, p. 9).

Textbook Development, Adoption, and Change

The contents of textbooks and the curricula they influence and/or dominate are strongly affected by the processes of product development and distribution. Because textbook publishing is a business that must yield a profit, the pressures of the marketplace may control publishers' substantive decisions.

The textbook market is subject to unusual pressures. It is constrained by state laws and by various political interest groups who demand a say about what happens in their public schools. How do processes of textbook development and adoption affect the final product? To what extent do these processes facilitate or inhibit curriculum change?

Textbook Development and Curriculum Change

About 50 publishing companies produce and sell textbooks to elementary and secondary schools. The top ten companies account for about 50 percent of annual product sales.

The cost of developing a new basal textbook for the secondary school may run as high as $300,000. A publisher needs to sell more than 100,000 copies of the new product to break even. Thus, it may take as long as three years to reach the break-even point, unless the book quickly becomes a best-seller. Figure 2 shows the breakdown in production costs and profits associated with the sale of a textbook.

Given the stiff competition and high production costs, publishers are very careful about launching new development projects. Thus, the first phase of the textbook development process is careful analysis of the market (Goldstein 1978; Edgerton 1969). This involves surveys of curriculum trends, competing products, and consumer needs and wants. Decisions to develop new textbooks are based on evidence of a likely market for the product.

Some decisions to launch a textbook development project indicate a publisher's desire to innovate--to meet new needs and trends that market analysis reveals. For example, Magruder's American Government was published in 1917 in response to a National Education Association curriculum reform commission's prescription in 1915 of a new 12th-grade course.

Usually, however, the publisher does not stray very far from the tried-and-true pathways to product acceptability. Publishers know that textbook consumers tend to be very conservative; school administrators and teachers generally have little to gain by making innovative choices but may have much to lose if they arouse various pressure groups. Thus, Goldstein reported: "Given a choice between materials closely patterned after the ones they now use and materials that mark a sharp departure in teaching technique, they will typically prefer the first" (Goldstein 1978, p. 37).

The next phase in product development is putting together the group that will create the new textbook. Authors may be found in academic departments of universities or in elementary or secondary school classrooms. They may be located at university-based centers, such as the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University, or they may be hired from private curriculum development companies, such as Education Challenges, Inc., of Alexandria, Virginia.

Usually two or more authors will be teamed with two or more editors from the publishing company. Authorship teams often combine subject-matter specialists and practicing school teachers. Occasionally, a textbook is developed by a single author, but rarely does one person have all of the capabilities needed to develop a successful elementary or secondary school textbook.

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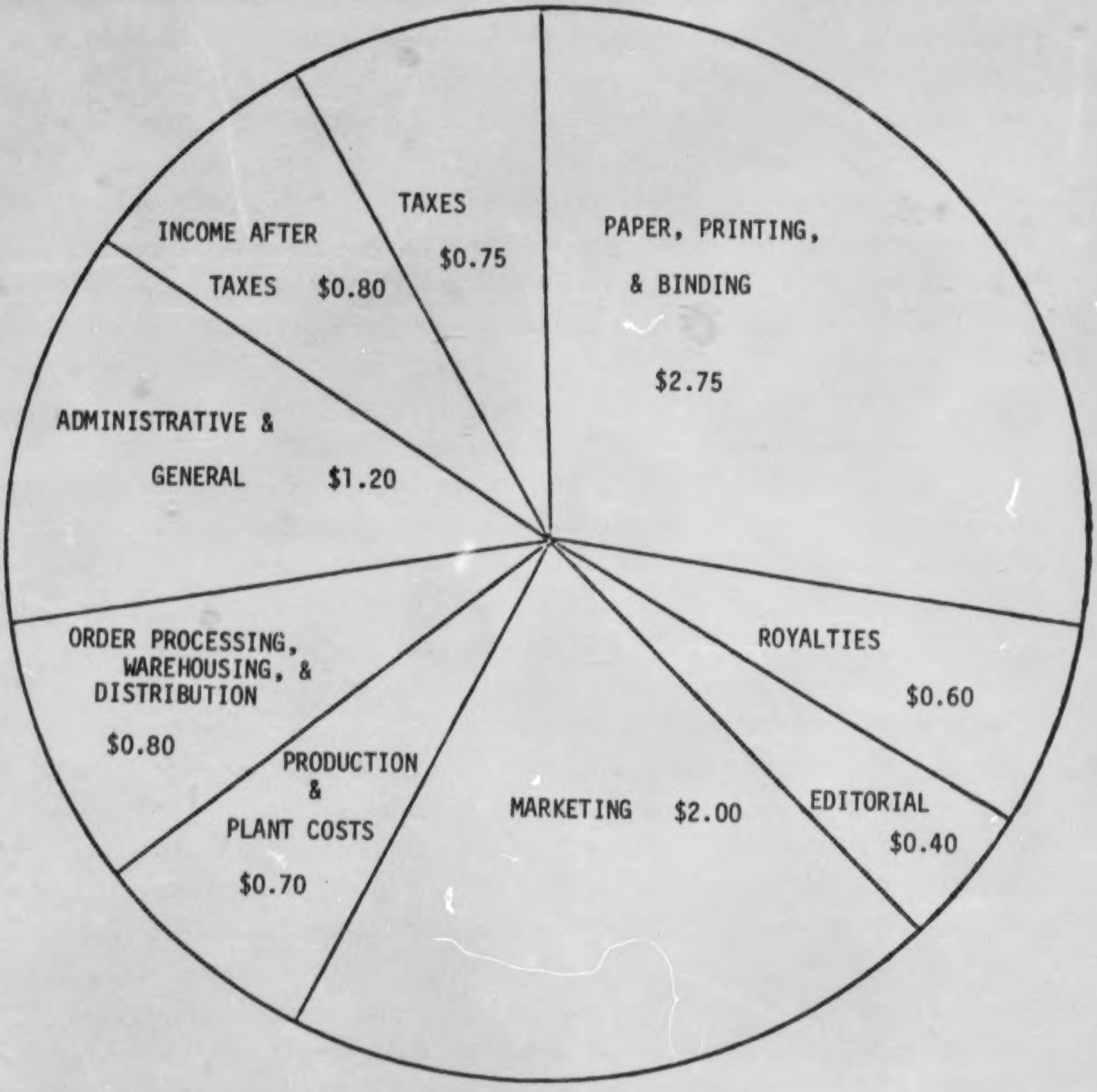
Figure 2

WHERE THE MONEY GOES FROM SALE OF $10.00 BOOK



Data from 27 publishers; figures are rounded.

(Association of American Publishers, 1977 Industry Statistics)

The third phase in the development process is conceptualization of the product. This involves the writing of a proposal that specifies the content and design of the book. The size, scope, and sequence of textbook content is set forth. Special features and pervasive instructional strategies are described. All of this planning is done with an eye on the marketplace. Continual reference is made to marketing and curriculum surveys that were the basis for initiating the project. Careful examination is made of competing products--their content and design features and evidence of consumer responses to these product features. Thus, ideas for the proposed product are justified with arguments and evidence that suggest why the new product will be superior to existing texts in the field.

The fourth phase in the process is securing approval of the product conceptualization and a firm decision to begin creation of the textbook. Subject-matter experts from universities and relevant classroom teachers may be asked to critique the proposal. Key members of the publishing company's marketing department will appraise the plan. The outcome of these assessments may be a decision by company executives to (1) go ahead with the plan as conceived, (2) throw out the particular plan and look for a new development team, (3) abandon the idea and do something else, or (4) go ahead after making certain revisions of the proposal.

The fifth phase, which presumes approval of the product conceptualization, is to create the manuscript in line with the product conceptualization plan. Many publishers field test early drafts of the first three or four chapters of a book. In such a field test, several teachers are asked to use the chapters in their classrooms. The teachers and their students are then asked to provide systematic evaluation of the materials, which leads to revisions of the chapters. These changes are presumed to make the materials more usable and effective with the target audience. Ideas derived from the field tests are built into the revised plans for product development. If time and money permit, one or two additional rounds of field testing may be conducted.

Formative evaluation involving students in classrooms has been on the rise in publishing companies. Increases in product field testing have been, in part, a response to new state and school district requirements for textbook adoption. Florida, for example, has a law that states:

> Publishers shall provide written proof of the use of the learner verification and revision process during prepublication development and postpublication revision of the materials in question. For purposes of this section learner verification is defined as the empirical process of data gathering and analysis by which a publisher of a curriculum material has improved the instructional effectiveness of that product before it reaches the market and then continues to gather data from learners in order to improve the quality and reliability of that material during its full market life (Florida Senate Bill S492, Section 283.25).

Another more typical type of formative evaluation is to hire consultants--subject-matter experts and classroom teachers--to criticize the manuscript. The publisher hopes to spot and eliminate all errors in the manuscript through this procedure.

Manuscript development involves collaboration between authors, editors, and book design experts to lay out the format and style of the book. Illustrations are specified and people designated to do artwork and secure photographs.

The sixth phase of the process involves final copy-editing to prepare the manuscript for the printer. Then the book is printed, bound, and sent to warehouses to await distribution.

Throughout the development process, the marketing department makes plans to promote the new textbook. In addition, company managers and executives watch and check to make sure that the task is being done according to high standards. Sometimes a product will be halted during the manuscript creation stage because company executives have decided that continuing would be unprofitable.

This brief description reveals how careful and conservative the textbook development process is. It is filled with checkpoints aimed at reducing publisher risk in a very risky business. Developing a new textbook--from product conceptualization to shiny new book--often takes anywhere from three to five years. During this time, market conditions may change. Publishing company executives must be continually alert to new needs and trends and ready to adjust product development plans accordingly.

From beginning to end of the production process the development team must assess various market pressures--student needs, teacher preferences, market trends, pressure group activity, new regulations affecting textbook adoption, etc. They must sift this tangle of often confusing and sometimes conflicting evidence in order to create a product that will sell to the largest number of consumers. Attempts to balance these various market forces are often likely to lead to "safe" decisions and conservative products.

Given the heavy marketing pressures against bold innovation, it is remarkable that publishers foster as much curriculum change as they do. Despite the risks, publishers have attempted some innovations, as discussed previously. And publishers have, in general, continued to improve their products. Take a good look at the textbooks of 1960 and compare them with the products of today: you will notice significant improvement in content, design, and overall appearance.

Textbook Adoption and Curriculum Change

Textbook publishing companies pursue two basic marketing strategies--one for adoption states and the other for "open territories" (see Figure 3). In adoption states, laws regulate procedures for selecting lists of approved textbooks for use in local school systems. In states that are "open territories," use of textbooks in the schools is not regulated on a statewide basis.

There are 23 adoption states; most are in the southern and western parts of the country. Laws to regulate the adoption process vary from state to state. At the core of all the regulations, however, are criteria that set boundaries for textbook selection. Publishers must produce textbooks that, at a minimum, fit the criteria if they want their products even to be considered for state adoption. The aim of adoption states is to exercise centralized control over the use of materials in local school systems.

In 17 adoption states, the state government pays for books that local adoption committees select from the approved list. In the case of New York the state provides a dollar amount per student for text purchase. In six adoption states, the funds are provided wholly or partially from local monies. In the two dual selection states, local districts must choose from a state adoption list if they use state funds but can make nonadoption choices if they use local funds. There are also 20 cities which practice city-wide adoption of texts.

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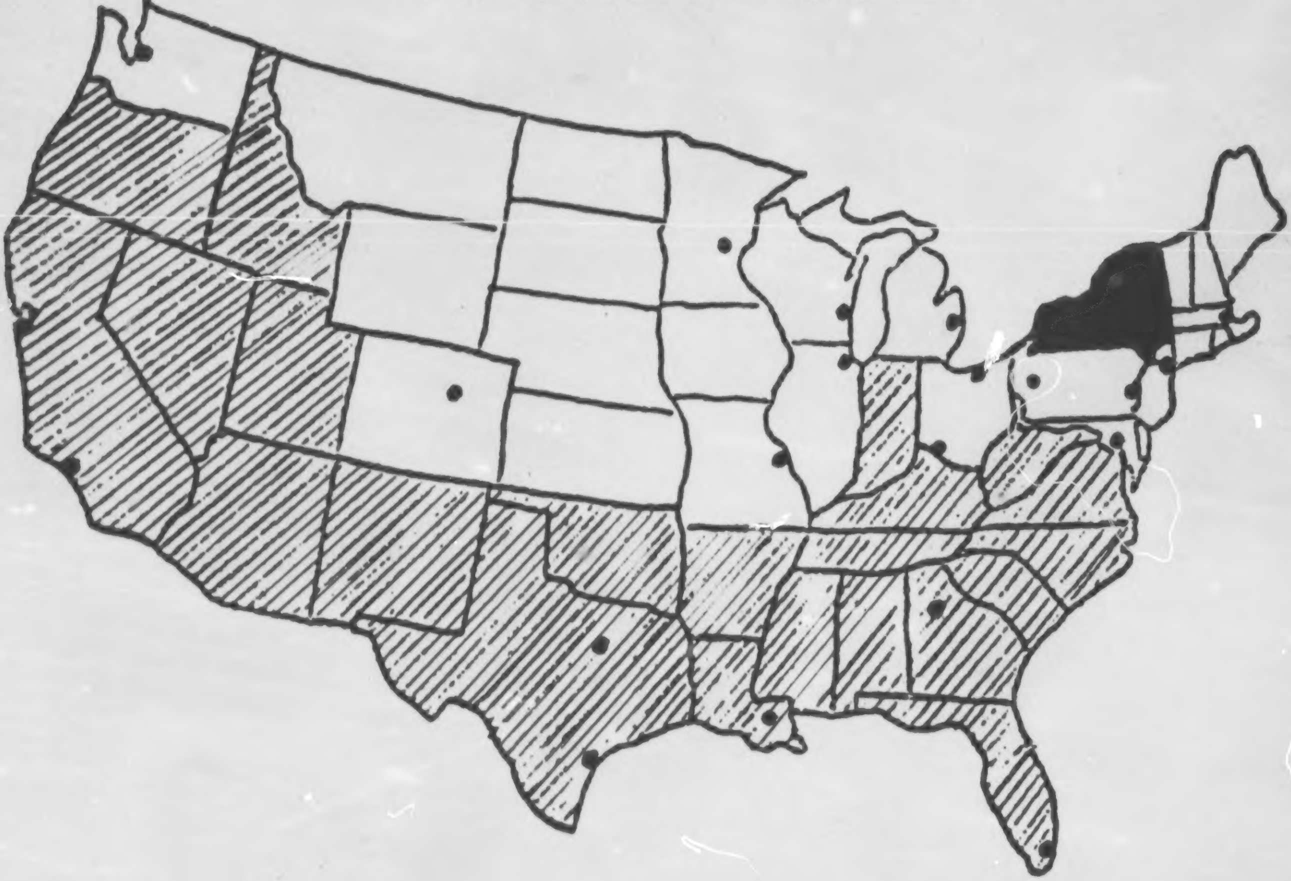
Figure 3

A PUBLISHER'S MAP OF THE UNITED STATES



Local Selection

- Alaska
- Colorado
- Connecticut
- Delaware
- District of Columbia
- Illinois
- Iowa
- Kansas
- Maine
- Maryland
- Massachusetts
- Michigan
- Minnesota
- Missouri
- Montana
- Nebraska
- New Hampshire
- New Jersey
- New York
- North Dakota
- Ohio
- Pennsylvania
- Rhode Island
- South Dakota
- Vermont
- Washington
- Wisconsin
- Wyoming

State Adoption

- Alabama
- Arizona
- Arkansas
- Georgia
- Idaho
- Indiana
- Kentucky
- Louisiana
- Mississippi
- New Mexico
- North Carolina
- Oklahoma
- Oregon
- South Carolina
- Tennessee
- Texas
- Utah

State Adoption; Local Choice from State List

- Florida
- Hawaii
- Nevada
- Virginia

Dual Selection

- California
- West Virginia

☐ Open Territory

▨ Adoption State

■ New York - dollar amount per student

● City Markets

The adoption states account for about 46 percent of the national textbook market (Rasmussen 1978, p. 11). Three large adoption states--Texas, Florida, and California--represent 17 percent of the national market. Thus, these three states (and to a lesser extent the other adoption states) have a strong influence on the content of books sold throughout the United States (Rasmussen 1978, p. 11; Bowler, 1976).

Why do the big adoption states, such as Texas, loom so large in the calculations of textbook publishers? The answer has to do with the large size of the market and the use of public funds to purchase books that are selected by local school districts from the state list of approved materials. When a local school system makes a selection from the state list, sales are guaranteed because of the allocation of government funds for textbook purchases.

Consider the example of the American government textbook market in Texas. The total state market exceeds 200,000 copies. Suppose a publisher wins one of the five places on the state list. The publishing company has an excellent chance to sell as many textbooks in Texas, in one year, as it may sell in the remainder of the country during that same year.

Bowler (1976) nicely explains the general influence of the Texas adoption process on publishers: "When a single committee (15 educators in the case of Texas) chooses the textbooks to be read by 2.5 million Texas school children, and when that choice means 48 million DOLLARS in yearly sales, publishers are going to tailor their products for the Texas market and concentrate selling efforts there."

The 28 states that comprise open territories account for 54 percent of the textbook market. In these states, local school districts have authority to regulate their own textbook selection. These adoption processes vary from small-scale replicas of the state adoption systems to independent decision making by school administrators, department chairpersons, classroom teachers, or some combination of these three groups.

Key target states in the "open territories" are those with the largest populations: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Major city districts within open territories include Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., New

York City, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Denver. Marketing strategies in the open territories tend to focus on these big state/big city markets.

The selection of materials in adoption states and open territories is done at the local district level by specially appointed committees commonly composed of teachers, one or more administrators (curriculum specialists or building principals), and occasionally parent/citizen representatives. Table 1, reproduced from the RTI report, shows the level and frequency of involvement of the various participants in elementary and secondary textbook selection.

Clearly, teachers (either in committees or individually) are the most commonly involved participants. However, principals are heavily involved at the elementary level, as are district-wide supervisors where they are available. Principals are less heavily involved at the secondary level, but do maintain a degree of involvement. Heavy parent, community, or student participation is uncommon.

The RTI data indicate that teachers are primarily responsible for local decisions on materials selection. But not all teachers serve on selection committees, meaning that many teachers have input into materials selection only through their committee representative, who is commonly appointed to the position. This accounts for the EPIE finding that 45 percent of the almost 12,000 teachers they surveyed reported that they had no role in selecting materials. Even those who reported having a role did not seem to have "major input"--54 percent said they spent less than one hour making or preparing to make final materials selections. The teachers who reported spending one or more hours selecting materials said they made their selection from a field of fewer than nine materials, which they skimmed for about ten hours (EPIE 1977, pp. 7-8).

Over the past several years, the staff of the Social Science Education Consortium has worked with many school districts in selecting social studies materials. This experience suggests that the "typical" scenario for committee materials selection involves a group of six to twelve members, mostly classroom teachers. The committee generally has been appointed especially for the task of selection. It is not usually an ongoing committee. At the first meeting, the "leader"--often a curric-

Table 1

DISTRICT CURRICULUM PROGRAM QUESTIONNAIRE* RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN DISTRICT TEXTBOOK SELECTION

K-6 Social Studies

	Percent of Districts			
	Not Involved	Somewhat Involved	Heavily Involved	Don't Know or Missing
Superintendent or assistant superintendent	29	33	26	12
District-wide supervisors	30	21	28	21
Principals	4	41	50	5
Teacher committees	4	10	83	4
Individual teachers	0	36	61	3
School board members	65	19	3	13
Parents	68	23	2	7
Students	71	22	2	4

Sample N = 303

7-12 Social Studies

	Percent of Districts			
	Not Involved	Somewhat Involved	Heavily Involved	Don't Know or Missing
Superintendent or assistant superintendent	27	34	19	19
District-wide supervisors	23	13	26	38
Principals	8	53	20	10
Teacher committees	8	22	65	5
Individual teachers	0	28	66	6
School board members	57	26	0	17
Parents	69	14	4	12
Students	60	30	2	8

Sample N = 298

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[*] It should be noted that many districts have no district-wide supervisors. (Weiss 1978, Table B.26)

ulum specialist, principal, or "lead teacher"--gives the committee the ground rules, such as budget figures, deadlines, and special "administrative" decisions. This person also has obtained free sample textbook copies from publishers.

For the most part, the committee then works in a rather disorganized fashion, with members picking up books, thumbing through them, and asking if other materials are available. At some point the group and/or leader may determine some selection criteria that will be used in making final selections. The entire process is often completed in two meetings, although some committees meet periodically for several weeks or months before arriving at decisions.

Adoption committees attempt to satisfy a variety of interest groups representing alternative and often conflicting points of view. The committees also try to meet the needs of students and teachers as they understand them. Finally, adoption committees may feel pressure to please school administrators and board members. This balancing of various interests, pressures, and presumed needs must be done within a framework of local, and perhaps state, law or mandate.

How does the selection process affect the content and design of textbooks? Robert Rasmussen, who represents the School Division of the Association of American Publishers, provides an answer from the perspective of the textbook producer. He says:

> The diversity of the culture results in a diversity of demands. There are demands for recognition of liberal causes. There are demands for more patriotism or less patriotism and flag-waving. Such causes as the rights of minorities, the rights of women, conservation, improved environment, sex education, family planning, ethnic identity, drug education, consumer education, are only a few of the many causes which come forth in textbook hearings held in various adoption states.
>
> Those who speak on textbook content frequently offer completely opposing points of view. Thus, it is often difficult for the adoption committee to reach a final selection which satisfies all points of view. Ultimately, the criticism or suggestion(s) reach textbook authors, editors and publishers, and decisions must be made to resist or respond favorably. While it is not possible to satisfy the demands of all people, publishers make a professional effort within the limits of responsible scholarship to deal with potentially controversial topics in a way which establishes some acceptable norm (Rasmussen 1978, p. 17).

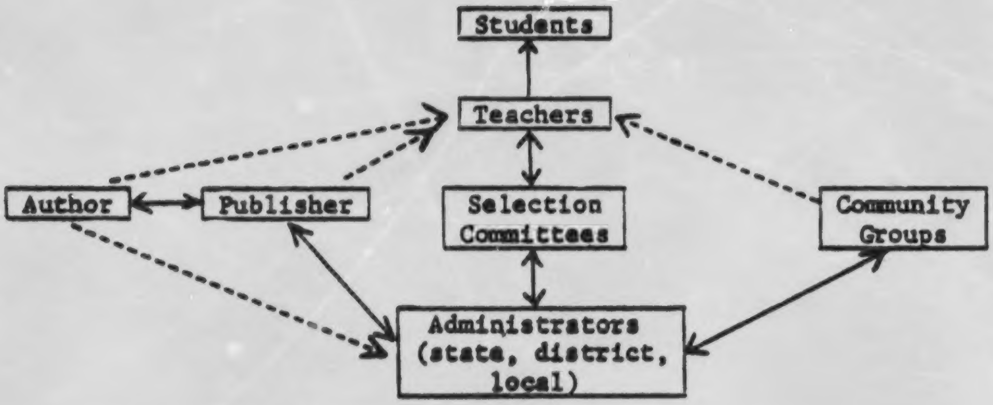
Paul Goldstein, an academician who has made a critical study of textbook development, provides a viewpoint that differs somewhat in tone and emphasis from Rasmussen's statement. According to Goldstein the adoption committees respond to conflicting pressures by selecting "materials that they believe are least likely to offend the holders of any particular view. . . . Schools select, and producers produce, materials that are not likely to upset the delicate balance reached among contending interests" (Goldstein 1978, p. 4).

Significance of Findings About Textbook Development/Adoption Processes

Rasmussen and Goldstein both focus on the limits to innovation in product development that are established by textbook adoption processes. In large part, the limitations are associated with the accommodational relationships of the six basic groups involved with the production and adoption of textbooks--publishers, authors, teachers, students, administrators in local school systems and state education bureaucracies, and community groups. Figure 4 pictures the typical pattern of interaction among those groups of persons. All except the "selection committee" are permanently established positions. The selection committee is a temporary, usually short-lived group.

Figure 4

RELATIONSHIPS OF GROUPS IN TEXTBOOK ADOPTION



Formal Channels of Communication ________

Informal Channels of Communication ---------

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Several insights emerge from examining this figure. First, few formal channels of communication are available for those outside the school setting to gain access to the in-school selection or use of materials. Particularly important are the few channels to students and teachers--the users of materials. Only teachers have formal access to students, and only administrators (often through committees) have direct access to teachers. Sometimes publishers and developers interact directly with students and teachers; sometimes citizens communicate directly with teachers; but for the most part, the users of products are removed from the producers or would-be influencers. Even access to selection committees is generally filtered through administrators.

The diagram also suggests that there is no single source of power in the system. At first glance it appears that administrators hold an important position, since they are in formal contact with publishers and the community as well as teachers. They may hold pivotal positions, but their influence on students must, like everyone else's, be filtered through the teacher.

It is discouraging to see how far removed from the users (both teachers and students) the authors are. While the authors may develop communication with teachers independently of the publisher, their access to students must always be approved by the teacher. What contact is made with students probably happens only after materials have been fully or partially developed.

Finally, it is important to note that the community has no direct input into publisher decisions. Often community input is powerful, as evidenced by the changes citizen groups have made in the multiethnic and sex equity dimensions of materials, but the influence must be filtered through educational administrators at various levels.

The intricate network of groups in the adoption process discourages innovation in textbooks. Publishers tend to shape their product to balance and accommodate the various interests represented by the several kinds of participants in the adoption process. As Goldstein says, "The surest, least costly way to succeed with new materials is to follow the patterns successfully established by materials already in use" (Goldstein 1978, p. 5).

What does the current state of materials development and adoption mean for the future of textbooks, particularly change in these materials? Primarily it means that radical change in materials is unlikely. Curriculum products which reach today's teachers and students must go through a variety of administrative levels, which in turn respond to community input. The system tends to buttress the status quo. Products that tend not to incite--that are more bland than spicy--seem to be a reasonable publisher response to the multi-layered road that must be taken to teacher/student users.

Only in local development does the conservatism of the process seem to be short-circuited, since teachers essentially write for themselves in such a procedure. However, the impact of locally developed materials is generally limited to the district in which they are produced. When good generalizable ideas are generated, the local developers have no established dissemination system of their own; nor do they have a normal route to publishers to share their work.

This analysis is not intended as an indictment of the present system or of what it portends for the future. It is merely an explanation of why change in materials tends to be slow and incremental, and why that condition seems likely to continue as long as the current processes of textbook development and adoption are maintained.

Further Research

The findings presented in this paper represent a significant step forward in understanding the development, use, and significance of curriculum materials in K-12 social studies teaching and learning. The literature review, national survey, and case studies supported by the National Science Foundation have provided previously unknown data which allow us not only to know more about social studies materials but also to compare the use of materials in our field with that in science and mathematics. These data bases have been further supplemented by the literature reviews, experiences, and judgments of the SPAN consultant panel and staff.

Despite the gains we have made in understanding social studies curriculum materials, however, much remains unknown or only partially known. To fill these gaps, we believe the following research efforts should be undertaken in the near future. These are not the only fruitful areas of inquiry which could be pursued, but they are pressing needs.

1. A survey of textbook usage is needed to determine what textbooks are most widely used at each elementary grade level and in each secondary subject area. Given the primacy of textbooks in curriculum planning and teaching, data from such a survey would pinpoint more exactly the substance of social studies instruction. Although many publishers conduct such surveys in their marketing research, their information is not generally available to curriculum developers or specialists who attempt to bring about curriculum changes. Among the issues to be addressed in this type of research would be: Which books are most frequently used at each grade level? What percentage of students use these books? What are the patterns of use of widely used texts? Are there regional or demographic differences in the use of particular kinds of texts?

2. There is a need for systematic research on exactly what textbooks include, how they compare to one another, and what their major strengths and weaknesses are. Among the studies reviewed in this paper are several that have attempted systematically to assess one or more aspects of social studies textbooks' content. The results of such studies provide information about the "insides" of textbooks that is useful to curriculum developers and to curriculum specialists and teachers who design curricula and adopt textbooks. Examples of specific questions which might be studied are: What are the content differences among sixth-grade texts which focus on world studies? What are the content differences among fifth-, eighth-, and eleventh-grade U.S. history texts? How many inquiry strategies are included in the best-selling U.S. government texts, and what is the nature of the inquiry? How much do the readability levels of leading textbooks at each grade level differ?

3. A nationwide survey of the views of teachers, students, and the public about widely used textbooks is needed. Currently our data base about consumers' perceptions of textbooks is thin or nonexistent. The marketing departments of publishing companies carry out such studies regularly, but, again, the data are not available to the public or educa-

tors outside the publishing companies. Examples of questions for this type of research include: What topics do teachers, parents, and/or students expect to be covered in an 11th-grade U.S. history textbook? Do students feel they learn effectively from and/or do they like primary source materials and case studies? What is the most useful format for teacher's guides? How do parents respond to the affective learning strategies present in some textbooks?

4. More systematic study of how textbooks are actually used in classrooms is needed. The data we have on curriculum materials indicate that textbooks are very extensively used; however, we know little about how they are actually used. Only the Stake and Easley case studies provide much information about what happens with textbooks inside classrooms. We need to know much more if we are to know how textbooks can be effectively improved. Topics for examination include: How much classroom time is spent in silent reading of the textbook? How often does the teacher use lesson plans from the teacher's guide precisely as they were conceived? How much of a textbook is covered in a typical course? What information from a textbook does the teacher choose to emphasize?

5. There is a need for careful case studies of successful textbook innovations. Although not many of the 1960s social studies curriculum project materials experienced large sales or extensive use, some innovative materials have fared better in the marketplace. For example, the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS) of Boulder, Colorado, has produced textbooks that about 50 percent of American high school students enrolled in biology courses use (BSCS 1979, p. 14). Furthermore, nearly all high school biology students use textbooks that have been modeled after the BSCS products. The work of BSCS, like the social studies curriculum projects of the 1960s and 1970s, was federally funded. However, BSCS has become institutionalized and continues to exercise great influence on science education in American schools. Case study research about the activities of successful centers such as BSCS might yield ideas and insights that could aid the efforts of social studies curriculum reformers.

6. Careful study of successful local curriculum development efforts in social studies is needed. Despite the predominance of commercially published curriculum materials in today's social studies class-

rooms, in some school systems teachers do develop and use their own materials. Such successful local developers often feel strongly that the materials they produce relate to local conditions and student needs better than available commercial materials. Currently we have little information on these local development efforts. Fruitful research could be conducted to answer such questions as: How did the development effort get started? What are the support systems which keep it operating? How many teachers participate? What are the logistics of materials' production? What is the nature of the materials that are produced? How are materials kept current?

7. There is a compelling need for careful research and credible findings about textbook adoption processes and their effect on curriculum changes. Given the findings about the influence of state adoption systems on publishers' development and marketing decisions, we clearly need to know much more about how the adoption process works--both in adoption and nonadoption territories. This research is a prerequisite to effective moves by federal agencies, national curriculum development centers, and other groups toward influencing certain basic changes in textbook content. Questions to be answered in such research include the following: What is the average amount of time between adoptions of social studies materials in school districts? What are the common criteria imposed by adoption committees in state adoption states? How do schools in nonadoption states gather information about textbooks before making purchases? What procedures do laypersons follow in influencing textbook selection? To what extent and how do sales representatives influence local school textbook selections?

Conclusion

Curriculum materials are a critical element in K-12 social studies instruction today--both in curriculum planning and in day-to-day teaching and learning. Although a great variety of materials is available, most teachers prefer and use textbooks as the basis of instruction. The use of a single or a very limited number of textbooks dominates instruction at all grade levels.

Teachers and administrators are generally well satisfied with their social studies materials. The materials are cost-effective and help teachers with important management and control functions. Students also generally like textbooks, and there is some evidence that they learn well from well-structured curriculum materials. Parents and citizen groups are favorable toward texts because texts give them a channel for entering the classroom and discovering what students are learning.

Extensive use of textbooks in social studies instruction is not new. Since the turn of the century and perhaps before, reformers have been critical of teachers' heavy reliance on textbooks, yet the practice has continued.

Textbooks have not stayed the same, however. In the past 10 years, some noticeable and significant improvements have occurred. Social studies texts have been made more physically attractive, more readable, more fair in their treatment of women and minorities, and somewhat more open to objective treatment of controversial or sensitive topics. On the other hand, many critics still suggest that texts inadequately treat social science content and that they emphasize the transmission of information rather than the development of critical thinking. Although the new social studies projects did not have much direct influence on social studies instruction--because relatively few students ever used them--the influence of the ideas and methodology of the new social studies on current commercially developed products is apparent.

While there are some differences among textbook offerings at each grade level, in fact texts in the current crop are more alike than different. This similarity results from publishers' attempts to find a middle ground in text development--to produce books which will please most people and offend few.

Textbooks are expensive to develop and market. As school enrollments decline and budgets are cut, the competition becomes more keen. As a result, increasing attention is paid by publishers to marketing. Adoption procedures in state-adoption states are carefully monitored, while strategies for breaking into the nonadoption markets are designed.

Meanwhile, adoption procedures are carried out by educators across the country in a variety of ways--ranging from carefully controlled and publicized systems to relatively haphazard, rather obscure procedures.

Although teacher representatives generally have more influence on textbook selection today than in previous years, many teachers still have little or no input into the decision about which textbooks they use.

These findings lead to the conclusion that curriculum materials, particularly textbooks, are a factor of great importance in social studies education. Those who would change social studies curriculum or instruction must at the least consider materials and probably must work through materials.

But learning about texts or even developing better texts is not enough--as the "new social studies" developers learned. Textbooks are important determiners of what is taught and how it is taught, but they do not function in a vacuum. Before significant improvement can be made in curriculum materials, much more attention needs to be paid to the consumers of textbooks. Teachers' needs must be determined, students' expectations considered, adoption procedures accounted for, and changing societal conditions acknowledged.

All this bespeaks a complex system, in which quick or massive reform may not be possible. But systematic and significant improvement is possible if we pay attention to the entire cycle of curriculum materials development, selection, use, and abandonment.

Appendix

Type 1 Studies--Analysis of Specific Social Science Concepts or Methods

The Dissemination of Major Geographic Elements Contained in the High School Geography Project: A Content Analysis of Geography Instructional Materials, 1975, Jon Owen Hansen, Michigan State University.

The Treatment of Economic Issues in High School Government, Sociology, U.S. History and World History Texts, 1978, Robert S. Main, *Journal of Economic Education*.

Political Change and Political Choice: A Review of Some Introductory American Government Texts, 1976, James K. Oliver and James A. Nathan, Teaching Political Science.

A Content Analysis of Selected Secondary School Economics Textbooks, 1973, Roy Herman Langer, Ball State University.

Type 2 Studies--Analysis of Special Issues or Concerns

The Treatment of Population Concepts in Social Studies and Biology Secondary School Textbooks in Florida: A Content Analysis and Survey of Teachers, 1979, Gita Sushila Wijesinghe, Florida State University.

Images of the Arabs in United States Secondary School Social Studies Textbooks: A Content Analysis and A Unit Development, 1976, Samir Ahmad Jarrar, The Florida State Universtiy.

A Content Analysis of the Treatment of Black People and Race Relations in United States History Textbooks, 1976, Floyd Hilding Pearson, University of Minnesota.

Textbooks and Political Socialization, 1980, Charles Harrington, Teaching Political Science.

The Changing Image of Blacks in American Government Textbooks, 1980, Woodrow Jones, Teaching Political Science.

The Mischief of Factions: Political Parties in School Textbooks, 1979, Sue Tolleson Rinehart, paper prepared for delivery at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 1979).

Classroom Treatment of the Right to Work. Revised October 1978, 1978, National Right to Work Committee, Fairfax, Va.

How the Cold War is Taught: Six American History Textbooks Examined, Martin F. Herz, 1978, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks, 1977, Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc., New York, N.Y.

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A Content Analysis of the Treatment of Black People and Race Relations in United States History Textbooks, 1976, Floyd H. Pearson, University of Minnesota.

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The Minority Group Image in Textbooks, 1975, Ann H. Stodaard, Virginia Beach, Va.

From Bloody Savages to Heroic Chiefs, 1978, Jesus Garcia, American Indian Education.

Judging Textbooks: The Asia Society Project, 1977, Loretta Ryan, Social Studies.

Textbooks and the New Social Studies, 1979, William Fetsko, Social Studies.

Type 3 Studies--Analysis of Particular Skills or Processes

Social Studies Text Materials as a Resource for Reflective Inquiry: A Content Analysis, 1977, Samuel Robert Bell, Stanford University.

Geography Textbooks--How Readable Are They?, 1976, James R. Miller, Dodd E. Roberts, Social Studies Journal.

Teachers Beware: Elementary Social Studies Textbooks are Getting Harder to Read, 1975, Roger E. Johnson, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies (Atlanta, Georgia, November 26-29, 1975).

The Readability of Elementary Social Studies Textbooks Is Decreasing, 1977, Roger E. Johnson, Social Science Record.

Type 4 Studies--General Analysis

Secondary School Social Studies: Analysis of 31 Textbook Programs, 1975, EPIE Report, 71.

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SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

By Mary Vann Eslinger and Douglas P. Superka

Introduction

> It depends on who is teaching. . . . Eight different people mean eight different social studies curricula (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:55).

A junior high school social studies teacher made that statement in describing the Texas history curriculum to the observer in one of the Illinois case studies. While it may be an overstatement, this comment emphatically points to one of the major findings of the NSF studies: the teacher plays the central role in science, math, and social studies education. The principal investigators in the Illinois case studies concluded their report with perhaps the definitive statement on the importance of the teacher in science education (which included math and social studies):

> What science education will be for any one child for any one year is most dependent on what the child's teacher believes, knows, and does--and doesn't believe, doesn't know, and doesn't do. For essentially all of the science learned in school, the teacher is the enabler, the inspiration, and the constraint (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:2).

The individual case studies contain considerable evidence to support this finding. One observer, for example, noted that "in discussion with parents, administrators, and teachers, no matter how much one tried to talk of general dimensions of science education in the Alte Schools, the conversation would eventually turn to the capabilities and competence of the individual teacher" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 3:86). Parents often talked about a particularly "strong" or "weak" teacher their child had in elementary school. At the junior and senior high levels, departments were characterized by the percentage of strong and weak teachers (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 3:86). Another site visitor concluded: "Everyone

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Verna Fancett and R. Beery provided substantial assistance in the preparation of this paper.

agreed that the most important parts of the learning equation are the teacher and student. The curricula materials are secondary" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 5:28). Throughout the case study reports the teacher is referred to variously as "the central figure," the "key," and "the magic ingredient" (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 3:93, 19:2, and 11:47).

The importance of the teacher is not unique to social studies or even to science education in general. If the Illinois investigators had been examining English and foreign languages, they probably would have reached a similar conclusion. The centrality of the teacher, however, takes on special significance in social studies. As will be documented below, many school observers noted that social studies teachers appear to be a particularly diverse group having a considerable amount of freedom. At the secondary level this can result in vastly different ways of teaching the same course (e.g., Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:114, 1:55). At the elementary level, where the status of social studies is on very shaky ground, the interest and inclination of the individual teacher can determine whether social studies is even taught on a regular basis (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 11:47). Finally, a recent study of two different ways of organizing the secondary social studies curriculum concluded that "the quality of the educational process experienced by our students is probably much more related to the quality of the teacher than to the form of the curriculum" (Hughes 1978, p. 166).

Given this high level of importance, examining the nature of social studies teachers becomes paramount in trying to understand the nature of social studies education in the nation. In this paper, we have attempted to synthesize data from the NSF studies, the Goodlad study of 38 schools, and other research efforts to shed some light on the backgrounds, attitudes, and other characteristics of those who teach social studies at the elementary, junior high, and senior high levels. (The NSF studies also document the importance of curriculum materials, especially textbooks. See the preceding paper in this volume for details.)

Demographic Characteristics

The overwhelming majority of elementary social studies teachers are female, while the vast majority of secondary social studies teachers are male. According to the RTI study, more than 95 percent of primary (K-3) social studies teachers and nearly 80 percent of intermediate-level (4-6) social studies teachers are female. By contrast, 62 percent of junior high and 75 percent of senior high social studies teachers are male (Weiss 1978, p. 141). This pattern was confirmed by the results of the Goodlad study of schooling. A preliminary analysis of those results also indicated that the proportion of secondary social studies teachers who are men is even higher than in other departments (Wright 1979, p. 3). The RTI study indicated that the science teachers had the same percentages of males and females at the secondary level as social studies, while the math teachers had more females--46 percent at the junior high and 32 percent at the senior high level (Weiss 1978, p. 141).

Social studies teachers at all levels have had considerable teaching experience. The RTI study reported in 1978 an average of about 11 years' teaching experience for elementary and secondary social studies teachers. A more recent study by the Agency for Instructional Television indicated an average of 13.5 years' experience for a national sample of secondary social studies teachers (Fontana 1980, p. 5). The RTI study showed that secondary science and math teachers had about the same amount of experience as social studies teachers. The Goodlad study, on the other hand, found that "secondary social studies teachers were two years older and had been teaching two years longer than the other secondary teachers" (Wright 1979, p. 3). That study also revealed that "an extraordinarily small percentage of the social studies instructors (3 percent) were 'first year teachers' and . . . an unusually large percentage (56 percent) had taught longer than ten years" (Wright 1979, p. 5).

The major data bases analyzed in Project SPAN contained very little information on the ethnic/racial and socioeconomic backgrounds of social studies teachers. The Goodlad study did contain some self-report data on the political orientation of teachers. In comparison to other secondary teachers, large proportions of social studies teachers described themselves as "liberal" or "strongly liberal" and small proportions classified themselves as "moderate." About the same proportion of social studies teachers and other teachers viewed themselves as "conservative." Elementary social studies teachers tended to be less liberal and more conservative (Wright 1979, p. 4). Regardless of their political orientations, the overwhelming impression from the Illinois case studies is that most social studies teachers (and math and science teachers) share the mores and values of their communities (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:6).

Academic Preparation

The primary data bases examined in Project SPAN provide considerable general information concerning the preservice training of social studies teachers, but little about the nature of specific courses taken. According to the RTI survey, fewer than a third of elementary social studies teachers had degrees beyond the bachelor's (29 percent at K-3 and 32 percent at 4-6) (Weiss 1978, p. 137).

In the Goodlad study, "master's degrees were less common among social studies teachers than other teachers" in elementary and middle schools (Wright 1979, p. 4). The RTI results confirm this finding at the primary level (K-3), but not at the 4-6 or 7-9 levels (Weiss 1978, p. 137). These differences between social studies teachers and others at the elementary level must, however, be interpreted with the realization that most of the respondents in the studies taught several subjects and were selected randomly to react to a particular subject area.

Perhaps a more important consideration is how elementary teachers feel about their training in the various subject areas. Clearly, elementary teachers feel most qualified to teach reading and math. Ninety-five percent of the elementary teachers in the RTI survey felt "adequately qualified" or "very well qualified" to teach those subjects. Of those, 63 percent felt "very well qualified" to teach reading and nearly 50 percent felt that way about math. Only 39 percent of the elementary teachers considered themselves "very well qualified" to teach social studies. The greatest deficiencies, however, appear to be in science, where only 22 percent felt "very well qualified" and 16 percent felt "not well qualified" (compared to 6 percent for social studies) (Weiss 1978, p. 142). Weiss noted that "elementary teachers' perceptions about their qualifications for teaching the various subjects are consistent with the amount of time that is generally spent in instruction in these areas" (Weiss 1978, p. 138).

Another indication of the need for more training in social studies might be inferred from RTI data on teachers' perceptions of their need for assistance in various areas. Elementary social studies teachers did not rate "obtaining subject matter information" as one of their greatest needs. But more elementary social studies teachers (K-3: 31 percent, 4-6: 36 percent) said they "do not receive adequate assistance" in this area than did math teachers (K-3: 24 percent, 4-6: 21 percent) (Weiss 1978, pp. B105-110).

Consistent with these findings, Wiley concluded in the Ohio State literature review that "it would appear that elementary teachers were not well prepared in history and the social sciences" (Wiley 1977, p. 143). This judgment, however, was based on only a few studies of teacher preparation in the early 1960s. One site observer in the Illinois case studies concluded that "a lack of training in science and social science disciplines was perhaps the biggest obstacle to the elementary programs" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:22). The examples provided, however, were in the natural science area, and ethnographers in the other ten districts did not make this judgment.

The data bases analyzed by Project SPAN contained only scattered data on teacher qualifications and no recent information on the number or nature of social studies courses taken by elementary teachers.

In contrast to their elementary counterparts, 51 percent of the junior high and 58 percent of the senior high social studies teachers in the RTI survey held degrees beyond the bachelor's. Slightly fewer science and math teachers had advanced degrees (Weiss 1978, p. 139). In the Goodlad study, "relatively large proportions of [high school] social studies teachers had earned master's or doctoral degrees" (Wright 1979, p. 4).

What are the major areas of preparation for secondary social studies teachers? Little up-to-date is information available in the SPAN data bases to answer this question with much confidence. Wiley concluded from an examination of numerous studies from the 1950s and 1960s and a few after 1970 that history still appears to be the dominant area of preparation for social studies teachers (Wiley 1977, p. 143). The RTI survey and Illinois case studies do not shed light on this question, but a recent study by the Agency for Instructional Television supports

Wiley's judgment. History was the primary area of preparation for about half (49 percent) of the secondary social studies teachers in their survey. Sixteen percent were trained in "general social studies" and the rest were distributed among various social sciences--political science (5.6 percent), geography (3.4 percent), sociology (2.2 percent), psychology (1.3 percent), and economics (.9 percent) (Fontana 1980, p. 5). A small study of preservice social studies teachers also supports this finding that history still predominates as the major area of academic preparation (Nelson and Palonsky 1979, p. 14).

While specific information on the nature of this training is not extensive, one can reasonably hypothesize that the university education of secondary social studies teachers has concentrated mainly on the mastery of knowledge within history and the social science disciplines, with only superficial attention to the philosophy and methods of teaching these fields to secondary school students (Newman 1977; Fraenkel 1980, pp. 93-94; Wiley 1977, pp. 143-144). At the university, high school teachers have probably encountered one primary model of teaching: the professor passing information about a discipline on to students, a model which little equipped them in the skills of critical inquiry (Wiley 1977, p. 131; Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:8). They are unlikely to have been exposed to an interdisciplinary course, a synthesis or capstone course, a social issues course, or a course giving them practice in the methods of inquiry of the several social sciences (Wiley 1978, p. 131).

After observing numerous instances of teachers' failure in handling critical questions well in the classroom, the principal investigators of the Illinois case studies suggested:

> Most teachers had not had the training that would make them respond "instinctively" to the fruitful observation or the penetrating question of a thoughtful student. They were trained in the same undergraduate courses that prepare students in universities for graduate studies. These were seldom research seminars of the sort reserved for doctoral studies--to explore areas of doubt or ignorance (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:8).

More extensive research is needed on preservice training and certification requirements for secondary social studies teachers before a reliable, detailed picture of their academic preparation can be portrayed.

How do secondary social studies teachers feel about their qualifications for teaching their courses? About 90 percent of the junior high and 80 percent of the senior high social studies teachers in the RTI survey felt adequately qualified, figures comparable to the results for science teachers at these levels. Sixteen percent of the high school social studies teachers did feel "inadequately qualified to teach one or more of their courses," the largest percentage for the three subject areas examined in the RTI survey (Weiss 1978, p. 144). Weiss reported that the vast majority of teachers in the study listed courses in their subject areas as those they felt inadequate to teach. Social studies teachers, for example, might list economics or psychology, but not English or math. Fourteen percent of all the teachers in the study indicated teaching a combination of subjects, but how many of those were social studies teachers was not reported (Weiss 1978, pp. 142-143).

Like the elementary teachers, secondary social studies teachers did not rate "obtaining subject-matter information" as a major area of need, but about 30 percent of the junior and senior high social studies teachers said they did not receive adequate assistance in this area.

Despite the teachers' reports that they felt positive about their qualifications and training in their subject areas, many researchers and commentators have contended for years that the subject-matter preparation of social studies teachers has been inadequate (Wiley 1977, p. 257). Usually, however, their criteria for adequacy have not been clarified. Furthermore, the studies reviewed by Wiley indicate that little or no relationship has been demonstrated between social studies teachers' subject-matter preparation and their knowledge of the subject or their students' achievements in the subject (Wiley 1977, pp. 257-258). Grannis (1970), who reviewed a number of studies over a 30-year period, suggested that "the main function of knowledge of subject matter was to sanction the teacher's role as an authority, a giver of knowledge" (Wiley 1977, p. 258). The Illinois case studies have since confirmed this judgment, as will be shown later.

Professional Activities

Most of the professional activities of social studies teachers, like those of other teachers, center around their classrooms. An elementary teacher teaches social studies and/or several other subjects to a group of about 24 students at the primary level and 27 students at the intermediate grades (Weiss 1978, p. 67). Elementary classes are usually divided into ability groups to teach reading and math. This is not usually done for social studies. Most junior and senior high social studies teachers teach only social studies courses (Weiss 1978, p. 142). Their classes tend to be larger (an average of 27 students) and more heterogeneous than those of their science and math colleagues, particularly at the high school level (Weiss 1978, pp. 65, B7). Seventy-five percent of the 10-12 social studies teachers' classes were composed of students with mixed abilities, compared with 51 percent for science and math teachers.

Social studies teachers at all levels, like their colleagues in the other subject areas, tend to run teacher-directed classrooms, making frequent use of lecture and discussion, textbooks, and worksheets. More-detailed information about the specific courses, materials, and methods used by teachers to teach social studies can be found in other papers in this volume. In this section we focus on professional activities beyond teaching students. These include sources of information, professional relationships and associations, and participation in inservice training.

The most useful source of information for social studies teachers is other teachers. When asked to rate usefulness of various sources of information about new developments in social studies education, social studies teachers, K-12, gave "very useful" ratings as shown in Table 1. The influence of "other teachers" as a source of information is clear, particularly for primary-grade teachers. Many primary-grade social studies teachers also find college courses, journals and other professional publications, and local inservice programs valuable sources of information. Fewer intermediate and secondary social studies teachers rated other teachers, college courses, and local inservice programs as very useful, but more of them saw journals and other professional publications as very useful sources of information. Secondary social studies teachers differ from their elementary colleagues only in degree, the greatest difference being in the extent to which they find local inservice programs useful sources of information (44 percent of K-3

Table 1

SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR TEACHERS

Source	Percentage of Teachers Rating Each Source as Useful			
	K-3	4-6	7-9	10-12
Other teachers	58%	44%	45%	42%
College courses	46	37	34	34
Journals & other professional publications	39	47	42	45
Local inservice programs	44	38	26	14
Local subject specialists	28	17	22	11
Principals	26	28	19	15
Federally sponsored workshops	16	25	16	13
Meetings of professional organizations	16	13	22	20
Publishers and sales representatives	14	10	11	12
State department personnel	2	4	5	5
Teacher union meetings	6	5	7	9

(Weiss 1978, p. B-119)

teachers do compared to only 14 percent of the 10-12 social studies teachers). Social studies teachers at all grade levels said teacher union meetings, state department personnel, publishers, and professional association meetings were not very useful sources of information on new developments.

The latter rating is not surprising, since few social studies teachers belong to their national professional organization, the National Council for the Social Studies. The 17,000 members of NCSS comprise only a small portion of the estimated 150,000 to 200,000 teachers of social studies. Even among district supervisors responsible for coordinating social studies, fewer than 20 percent belong to NCSS (Weiss 1978, p. 45). According to the Goodlad study, fewer social studies teachers belong to their professional organization than do teachers of other subject areas (Wright 1979, p. 6).

While NCSS may not be a significant reality for most social studies teachers, their professional unions--NEA, AFT, and their local affiliates--are. Many aspects of the professional lives of social studies (and other) teachers are directly affected by these associations--salaries, released time, contracts, time schedules, and class size. The Illinois case studies document that this kind of professional association is a vital and powerful one for teachers, especially those in urban areas (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. B:3-6). The observer at one site characterized many teachers he encountered (including social studies teachers) as "militant professionals" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 10:13).

Given their reluctance to join professional organizations other than unions, it is mildly surprising that many social studies teachers in the RTI study rated professional journals as useful sources of information. The Goodlad findings, on the other hand, are consistent with teachers' attitudes toward these associations. In comparison to other teachers, social studies teachers in that study found the professional literature to be of little help to them in their jobs (Wright 1979, p. 6).

Social studies teachers are also little aware of or influenced by the results of educational research (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979a, p. 19). This may be because they do not see the findings as useful in resolving the problems with which they must cope on a daily basis (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979b, p. 152); it may be because the findings have not been organized in a way that is efficient for them to study; or it may be that no real attempt has been made to communicate the results to them. It may also be because they see the researcher as "one of those people from the university" who is far distant from the action and who really has no idea of what teaching is all about (Wiley 1977, p. 9).

Social studies teachers in general have not extended their training through institutes or workshops funded by the National Science Foundation. The vast majority have never participated in an NSF-funded institute (Weiss 1978, p. 10; Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:22). Fewer institutes, however, were available for social studies teachers than for science and math teachers. Their nonparticipation in such institutes explains, at least in part, the fact that social studies teachers have probably never seen even one of the materials developed by NSF-sponsored curriculum projects (Weiss 1978, p. B41).

Seventy-three percent of the 7-9 social studies teachers and 42 percent of the 10-12 teachers in the CSSE survey reported that they had attended an inservice course of some description within the three years preceding the Illinois study (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 18:23). Half of the K-3 and 7-9 social studies teachers in the RTI survey said they took a college course for credit in the school year when the study was conducted. More than 40 percent of the 4-6 and 10-12 social studies teachers did also (Weiss 1978, p. 140).

The Goodlad results confirm this high level of participation in inservice courses, but also shed some light on teachers' motivations:

> Relatively large percentages of social studies teachers had pursued studies in education after earning their credentials. They gave somewhat different reasons than their peers, however, for completing these education courses. At all levels, personal growth motivated comparatively few social studies teachers, and salary increases motivated relatively many of them. Moreover, even though they had attended inservice programs about social sciences, cross-cultural, and cross-national education as consistently as their peers attended programs in other disciplines, the secondary social studies teachers had attended relatively few inservice programs about other professional topics such as curriculum development, teaching methods, classroom management, or child growth (Wright 1979, pp. 6-7).

These reasons provide some clues to social studies teachers' feelings and perceptions about their profession.

Teachers' Views of the Purpose of Social Studies

What do social studies teachers see as the basic purpose and essential nature of social studies? This is a difficult question to answer. First, while university professors spend a good deal of time thinking about these matters, elementary and secondary social studies teachers, like their counterparts in other subject areas, do not. Social studies teachers, like others, are more concerned and preoccupied with classroom realities--with making it through the week, month, and year--than with defining their field or clarifying their goals. This orientation--which has been documented generally in works such as Willard Waller's The Sociology of Teaching (1961), Gertrude McPherson's Small Town Teacher (1972), Philip Jackson's Life in Classrooms (1968), and Dan Lortie's Schoolteacher (1975)--was confirmed for social studies (and math and science) teachers in the Illinois case studies. CSSE site observers found that few teachers wanted to focus on the "big idea" of social studies. As one observer noted:

> Most teachers questioned about their philosophy of history or historiography had little to say. Their concern was structured by the circumstances of their own classroom. Many seemed content to see to it that students knew the textbook and could discuss current events in the light of the assigned readings (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:12).

Preservice social studies teachers in another study were found to have a similar orientation to questions about the nature and purpose of their subject area (Nelson and Palonsky 1979, pp. 9-15).

When they have been pinned down to respond to questions regarding the purpose of their subject area, social studies teachers have given a variety of answers, often conflicting from study to study. In this section we attempt to synthesize these findings as best we can.

One very clear finding related to teachers' view of the purpose of social studies emerged from the Illinois case studies. Based on teacher comments and actions, the "preemptive aim" of social studies teachers (as well as science and math teachers) is socialization. The principal investigators in that study concluded:

> Each teacher had a different set of purposes, but a most common and vigorously defended purpose was that of socialization. It was intimately related to observance of the mores of the community, submitting personal inclinations to the needs of the community, conforming to the role of the "good student," and getting ready for the next rung on the educational ladder (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 16:24).

Further, they "seem to treat subject matter knowledge as evidence of, and subject materials as a means to, the socialization of the individual in school" (Stake and Easley, p. 16:24).

The goal of socialization is shared by social studies teachers at all levels and includes the passing on of the culture; the "knowledge of the ages" as conceptualized by scholars, textbook writers, and by teachers themselves; and the indoctrination of students into the mores, values, and norms of the society. These are the vehicles used to approach the goal of socialization. Teachers are aware that they are not expected, as school persons, to be change agents in the society.

They are expected to be stabilizers and, as such, to follow the lead of the society in which they teach, especially the local community. What they teach in social studies and how they teach it are partially determined by their sensitivity to these outside desires for students to be socialized. However, it is not an "either/or" or a "do or don't do" situation:

> It would be incorrect to sort teachers into two groups, one which teaches good courses in (social) science and one which indoctrinates youngsters in the social customs and values of the community. . . . The stern socializers promoted subordination, discipline, a "Protestant work ethic," cheerfulness, competitiveness, and heavy investment in getting students "prepared." The more liberal socializers, no less concerned about having an impact on the learning and personality of the youngster, promoted skepticism, imagination, individual expression, cheerfulness, and cooperation. Of course, most teachers appeared to be trying to do some of both (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:25).

According to another study, preservice teachers also see socialization as a major goal of social studies. When asked about the primary purpose of social studies, many of them made such responses as "teaching American ideals" and "inoculating American kids with American values" (Nelson and Palonsky 1979, p. 10).

"Preparation" is an equally important goal of social studies and of education in general. At every level teachers prepare students for the next step. Perhaps nowhere in the entire school system are teachers more concerned with preparing students for the next step than in junior high school. That next step is, of course, the senior high, and that is where the "fun and games" will no longer be tolerated. On an occasion when the junior high social studies teacher or department chairman runs into a high school teacher, the first question asked is apt to be, "What do you expect them to know when they get up to you?" The answers are often too vague or too specific to be useful, and the junior high teacher departs, still worried about whether his students will be "prepared." Preparation is, in actuality, merely an extension of the major goal of socialization.

The teachers' views that socialization and work preparation are primary aims of social studies is highly consistent with the views of their communities. Many teachers seemed to share this teacher's conception of the interrelationship:

> Teachers are an extension of the parent and as such should teach the value system that is consistent with the community. The community has a vested interest in the schools and has a right to demand that certain values should be taught and certain others not be taught (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:13).

This helps to explain why the CSSE observers found so few instances of curriculum controversy with the community (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 12:28-31, 19:5). The principal investigator suggests that careful hiring practices may explain how this harmonious situation came to exist:

> It appeared to us that teachers had been carefully selected to fit the community and that teachers were anxious not to put children or parents in anguish--so some occasionally went as "far out" as the community, the parents and the youngsters expected them to, but seldom further. Of course there was not full agreement on the "boundaries," but we did not find confrontation. Observable differences among teachers were much more likely to be in areas about which the public was not apprehensive. Perhaps if all teachers were to take the same stand on some issue as the most radical or outspoken teacher there would have been trouble, but the community seemed comfortable with its mix of relatively stern socializers and relatively liberal socializers (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:6).

Thus, the importance of socialization and preparation ethics undergirds most social studies teachers' attitudes toward education in general and toward their area of specialization as well. There is less agreement among teachers about other specific purposes of social studies.

A strong impression derived from the interviews and observations in the Illinois case studies is that most social studies teachers view social studies primarily as history, geography, and government, with a little bit of social problems and self-awareness, but very little social science and critical inquiry (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:4; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979a, pp. 13-14). Teachers, even at the elementary level, were found to be very subject-matter oriented (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979a, p. 10), with history and geography most often mentioned (e.g., Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:34-35, 1:115, 2:19-20, 4:41, 4:51, 4:55). There were occasional indications that a few social studies teachers report other "big ideas" as goals, such as "a way of thinking critically about issues" or "to cope with life and change" (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:115, 2:13). Such statements were clearly reported as exceptions rather than the rule. Most social studies teachers, according to the CSSE data, see their field vastly differently than do the proponents of the "new social studies." Moreover, observations of classroom instruction tended to confirm the emphasis on knowledge from history, geography, and government (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979a, p. 7).

The findings from the AIT study of secondary social studies teachers confirm some of these impressions, but conflict with others. Table 2 summarizes these findings on teachers' views of the specific purposes of social studies.

Table 2

TEACHERS' VIEWS OF PURPOSE OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Purpose of the Social Studies	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	N
Teach knowledge of the past	9.6%	37.3%	53.1%	552
Cope with life	2.0%	10.5%	87.5%	550
Think critically	.4%	4.3%	95.3%	556
Teach knowledge and methods of the social sciences	14.7%	41.7%	46.6%	554
Promote activity in social and political organizations	15.4%	31.2%	53.6%	555
Prepare for alternative future	9.4%	29.1%	61.5%	549

(Fontana 1980, p. 8)

Consistent with the CSSE results, relatively fewer teachers saw teaching the knowledge and methods of the social sciences as a purpose of social studies. But contrary to the case-study impressions, there was overwhelming agreement that coping with life and thinking critically were specific purposes of social studies. There was much less agreement that teaching knowledge of the past was a purpose. This clearly conflicts with the widespread impression that history is a major aspect of social studies in teachers' minds.

The AIT findings were also analyzed by subject, grade level, and years of experience. Not surprisingly, American history teachers were most likely to agree that past knowledge was a purpose of social studies.

Behavioral science teachers were most likely to completely agree that a purpose of social studies is to teach students to think critically (Fontana 1980, pp. 10-11). Few significant differences were found among the various grade and experience levels (Fontana 1980, pp. 9-21).

These or other research data contain few clues for explaining these apparent differences between the CSSE and the AIT findings. Some speculation is offered below, but further investigation is clearly warranted. One possible explanation might be related to the two studies' methodologies. The Illinois case studies used interviews, discussions, and observations to focus on the goals reflected in what teachers said and did. The AIT study, on the other hand, was a questionnaire survey in which teachers rated various purposes of social studies. These teachers may be reporting one thing, but saying and doing something different. Furthermore, the AIT teachers were not asked to prioritize the various purposes for social studies, only to agree or disagree that each was a purpose. Perhaps prioritizing these purposes would reveal that nearly all social studies teachers agree that critical thinking and coping with life are goals of social studies, but that most teachers see history and social science knowledge as more important and central. Or perhaps most social studies teachers see teaching subject matter as a means of furthering their goal of socialization, the ultimate goal of which is coping with life. Or perhaps the explanation for these inconsistencies is that social studies teachers themselves may hold inconsistent views of the purposes of social studies. Since the CSSE findings and the experiences of many who work in the schools indicate that social studies teachers do not spend much time or energy thinking about and clarifying goals and purposes (in contrast to writing lists of goals and objectives for curriculum guides), they may not have highly consistent and hierarchically arranged systems of goals and purposes for social studies in their minds. None of these speculations, however, can be backed by much evidence at the present time. More research in these areas is clearly needed to answer these questions.

Teachers' Perceptions of Their Problems and Needs

While social studies teachers may not think much about goals and purposes, they seem to think a lot about their major problems and needs.

What do elementary, junior, and senior high social studies teachers see as their most serious problems and pressing needs? Most of the data to answer this question come from the RTI survey, with considerable supporting evidence in the case studies. The RTI data are teacher ratings of lists of problems and needs.

Table 3 summarizes the results of elementary social studies teachers' ratings of various factors as possible problems. Based on these results, the following factors appear to be the most serious and widespread problems for elementary social studies teachers: belief that this subject is less important than other subjects, insufficient funds for purchasing equipment and supplies, lack of materials for individualizing instruction, out-of-date teaching materials, inadequate student reading abilities, and lack of teacher planning time. Between one-half and two-thirds of the elementary teachers rated each of these factors as either a "serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem." Most elementary teachers indicated that the following were not "significant" problems: low enrollments, large class sizes, compliance with federal regulations, lack of teacher interest, teacher preparation, and difficulty in maintaining discipline.

While K-3 and 4-6 teachers shared many similar views about their problems and non-problems, there were also a few important differences. More 4-6 teachers, for example, see "lack of student interest" in social studies as a problem than do K-3 teachers; 45 percent of the 4-6 teachers rated this as a "serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem," while only 27 percent of the K-3 teachers did.

A second difference was that 65 percent of the K-3 teachers rated "not enough time to teach subject" as a problem, while only 33 percent of the 4-6 teachers did. This is consistent with the RTI findings that the time spent on social studies is considerably less at the primary level (Weiss 1978, pp. 50-51). Curiously, however, nearly half (47 percent) of the primary social studies teachers said that "belief that this subject is less important than other subjects" was not a significant problem. Perhaps they do not equate "amount of time" and "importance." Or maybe they realize that social studies is seen as less important at that level but do not view that as a problem.

Table 3

ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS' RATINGS OF POSSIBLE PROBLEMS

Percent of Teachers

	K-3				4-6			
	Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Significant Problem	Missing	Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Significant Problem	Missing
Belief that this subject is less important than other subjects	8	42	47	4	12	40	46	3
Compliance with Federal regulations	2	15	77	6	2	13	81	5
Inadequate facilities	11	30	55	5	8	37	52	2
Insufficient funds for purchasing equipment and supplies	18	36	43	4	23	35	40	3
Lack of materials for individualizing instruction	23	43	31	3	25	42	31	2
Out-of-date teaching materials	17	32	47	4	21	29	48	2
Insufficient numbers of textbooks	11	17	67	5	11	19	68	3
Lack of student interest in subject	4	23	70	4	9	36	52	3
Inadequate student reading abilities	14	47	35	4	27	46	25	2
Lack of teacher interest in subject	4	31	62	3	8	15	76	2
Teachers inadequately prepared to teach subject	3	29	65	4	8	16	74	3
Lack of teacher planning time	18	35	44	3	22	32	45	2
Not enough time to teach subject	19	46	33	3	11	21	67	2
Class sizes too large	12	27	59	3	20	24	54	2
Difficulty in maintaining discipline	4	18	75	3	5	20	73	2
Inadequate articulation of instruction across grade levels	9	33	55	3	9	33	54	4
Inadequate diversity of electives	7	23	58	12	4	19	69	8
Low enrollments in courses	1	8	78	14	1	1	90	9
Sample N =	254				281			

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(Weiss 1978, p. B129)

The case studies provide ample evidence of the relatively low priority of social studies at the primary level--in both the schools' and the teachers' value systems (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:34, 1:36, 2:21, 4:51, 4:55, 5:24, 7:7, 11:47). In most cases science shares this low priority; in a few instances it was even lower than social studies in teachers' minds (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 5:9, 9:3).

Primary teachers appear to accept this low priority, viewing reading and math as more vital. They may need more time to cover social studies, but not at the expense of these "basics." Overall, social studies at this level is seen as "a low-problem-no-trouble aspect of the curriculum" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:36).

What do elementary teachers of social studies see as their major needs for assistance? Tables 4 and 5 summarize the RTI findings for K-3 and 4-6 teachers. The particular choices provided to teachers in responding to this item--"do not need assistance," "do not receive adequate assistance," and "receive adequate assistance"--make these results somewhat difficult to interpret. Few elementary social studies teachers expressed a need for help in maintaining discipline, lesson planning, or in actually teaching lessons. Fairly large proportions of elementary teachers said they "do not receive adequate assistance" in learning new teaching methods (K-3: 37 percent, 4-6: 44 percent), obtaining information about instructional materials (K-3: 36 percent, 4-6: 48 percent), and using hands-on materials (K-3: 34 percent, 4-6: 42 percent). As indicated by these figures, considerably more intermediate-grade teachers than primary teachers shared these perceptions.

What are the perceived problems and needs of junior and senior high social studies teachers? Tables 6, 7, and 8 present the RTI study's answer to this question. We will focus first on the problems and needs of junior high social studies teachers.

At the junior high level, most social studies teachers (54 percent) did not see lack of importance as a significant problem, but 36 percent saw it as "somewhat a problem." More social studies teachers did, however, see this as a problem than science or math teachers at this level (Weiss 1978, pp. B126, B128). Like their colleagues in math and science, relatively few junior high social studies teachers saw the following as problems: lack of teacher preparation or the lack of time

Table 4

TEACHER NEEDS FOR ASSISTANCE BY SUBJECT AND GRADE RANGE
K-3 SOCIAL STUDIES

	Percent of Teachers			
	Do Not Need Assistance	Do Not Receive Adequate Assistance	Receive Adequate Assistance	Missing
Establishing instructional objectives	68	17	9	6
Lesson planning	75	14	6	5
Learning new teaching methods	44	37	16	4
Actually teaching lessons	81	11	4	4
Obtaining information about instructional materials	36	36	23	5
Obtaining subject matter information	47	31	17	6
Implementing discovery/inquiry approach	52	31	11	6
Using manipulative or hands-on materials	43	34	17	6
Maintaining equipment	66	15	14	6
Working with small groups of students	65	25	5	5
Maintaining discipline	87	6	4	3
Articulating instruction across grade levels	64	21	9	6

Sample N = 254

(Weiss 1978, p. B107)

Table 5

TEACHER NEEDS FOR ASSISTANCE BY SUBJECT AND GRADE RANGE
4-6 SOCIAL STUDIES

	Percent of Teachers			
	Do Not Need Assistance	Do Not Receive Adequate Assistance	Receive Adequate Assistance	Missing
Establishing instructional objectives	77	11	8	4
Lesson planning	84	11	3	3
Learning new teaching methods	35	44	14	8
Actually teaching lessons	80	13	4	3
Obtaining information about instructional materials..	30	48	20	3
Obtaining subject matter information	44	36	17	4
Implementing discovery/inquiry approach	43	44	8	5
Using manipulative or hands-on materials	40	42	13	5
Maintaining equipment	67	19	11	3
Working with small groups of students	62	30	4	4
Maintaining discipline	84	5	9	2
Articulating instruction across grade levels	54	35	5	6

Sample N = 281

(Weiss 1978, p. B110)

Table 6

SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS' RATINGS OF POSSIBLE PROBLEMS

Percent of Teachers

	7-9				10-12			
	Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Significant Problem	Missing	Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Significant Problem	Missing
Belief that this subject is less important than other subjects	9	36	54	1	18	39	41	2
Compliance with Federal regulations	5	10	83	2	1	14	83	2
Inadequate facilities	16	41	43	2	14	35	50	1
Insufficient funds for purchasing equipment and supplies	30	40	29	1	25	41	33	1
Lack of materials for individualizing instruction	37	45	18	1	32	42	25	1
Out-of-date teaching materials	21	39	39	1	16	37	47	0
Insufficient numbers of textbooks	13	26	61	1	13	19	68	0
Lack of student interest in subject	21	58	21	0	19	60	21	0
Inadequate student reading abilities	49	42	8	1	48	41	10	1
Lack of teacher interest in subject	2	12	85	1	3	21	75	1
Teachers inadequately prepared to teach subject	3	17	80	0	2	23	74	1
Lack of teacher planning time	8	25	67	0	16	28	56	0
Not enough time to teach subject	5	23	72	0	8	25	67	1
Class sizes too large	22	38	39	0	22	38	39	0
Difficulty in maintaining discipline	7	28	64	0	5	29	65	1
Inadequate articulation of instruction across grade levels	13	37	49	0	14	49	36	2
Inadequate diversity of electives	16	33	50	1	15	39	46	0
Low enrollments in courses	1	12	86	1	4	21	75	1
Sample N =		453				490		

(Weiss 1978, p. 130)

Table 7

TEACHER NEEDS FOR ASSISTANCE BY SUBJECT AND GRADE RANGE
7-9 SOCIAL STUDIES

	Percent of Teachers			
	Do Not Need Assistance	Do Not Receive Adequate Assistance	Receive Adequate Assistance	Missing
Establishing instructional objectives	65	17	15	3
Lesson planning	82	7	8	4
Learning new teaching methods	30	45	21	4
Actually teaching lessons	74	14	8	4
Obtaining information about instructional materials	20	50	26	4
Obtaining subject matter information	43	30	23	5
Implementing discovery/inquiry approach	41	46	9	5
Using manipulative or hands-on materials	42	40	14	5
Maintaining equipment	70	10	16	4
Working with small groups of students	64	26	7	3
Maintaining discipline	85	7	5	3
Articulating instruction across grade levels	56	30	10	4

Sample N = 453

(Weiss 1978, p. B113)

Table 8

TEACHER NEEDS FOR ASSISTANCE BY SUBJECT AND GRADE RANGE
10-12 SOCIAL STUDIES

Percent of Teachers

	Do Not Need Assistance	Do Not Receive Adequate Assistance	Receive Adequate Assistance	Missing
Establishing instructional objectives	69	20	8	4
Lesson planning	85	10	2	3
Learning new teaching methods	29	52	17	3
Actually teaching lessons	82	12	4	2
Obtaining information about instructional materials	26	52	20	2
Obtaining subject matter information	53	31	15	2
Implementing discovery/inquiry approach	46	43	8	2
Using manipulative or hands-on materials	46	43	8	4
Maintaining equipment	65	18	16	2
Working with small groups of students	68	27	3	2
Maintaining discipline	81	10	8	2
Articulating instruction across grade levels	55	35	8	2

Sample N = 490

(Weiss 1978, p. B116)

needed to plan and teach. Nor did they find government regulations, discipline, or the lack of textbooks a problem.

What junior high teachers did see as major problems were (1) the lack of student reading ability, (2) the lack of materials to individualize learning, and (3) the apathy and disinterest of students. They tended to share these concerns with junior high principals and both elementary and high school social studies teachers (Weiss 1978, p. B131). Other problems were "classes too large," "insufficient funds for purchasing equipment and supplies," and "out-of-date teaching materials."

By far the most widespread problem for junior high teachers, however, was the inadequacy of students' reading ability. More than 90 percent of the 7-9 social studies teachers in the RTI survey saw this as "a serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem." It was frequently mentioned as a major concern by junior high teachers in the Illinois case studies (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:73, 9:4-5, 7:33). Many viewed the development of reading skills as "necessary prior to learning social studies" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 9:5). Since the main instructional tool for social studies is the textbook, it is logical for teachers to conclude that the ability to read determines the ability to learn social studies.

As a result, junior high social studies teachers do not see the current "back-to-basics" trend as a threatening move. Rather than being pushed by community members, administrators, and boards of education, they are vocal proponents of the move. Whether they attempt to help students improve their reading skills in social studies classes is not known. Many social studies teachers feel that teaching reading is not their job; teaching reading is the job of the English teacher if students did not learn sufficiently in the elementary grades, "where the job is supposed to be done." Others, probably a small minority, attempt to teach reading in their content area, alleviating some of the difficulty.

Junior high school social studies teachers rank the lack of materials for individualizing instruction as the next-most-serious problem. This reflected their great concern with "what to do with the slow learner." They tended to see the textbook as too difficult even for the average student and impossible for one with low ability (e.g., Stake and

Easley 1978, pp. 1:51, 1:74, 7:16). In addition, sufficient funds are not available to purchase those materials that might help accomplish the job. The problems of reading and materials go hand in hand, causing double frustration for the social studies teacher.

The problem of student apathy or the question of how to motivate students, junior high teachers' next-greatest concern, may well be tied to both reading and individualization. Sparking students, capturing their interest, and at the same time holding their respect are major hurdles (e.g., Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:54, 1:117-118, 6:15, 7:33, 16:7). This is reflected in junior high teachers' expressions of their needs for assistance. In the AIT study secondary teachers were asked to identify "kinds of materials that would be helpful in social studies instruction." The "largest percentage of teachers in grade 7 (52.1 percent) and 8 (65.5 percent) selected as the most important need materials that related the content of social studies to students' lives" (Fontana 1980, p. 43). Junior high teachers may see this as a powerful way to generate student interest and deal with students' reading problems.

As indicated in Table 7, other needs identified by many junior high social studies teachers in the RTI survey were: "learning new teaching methods" (45 percent), "obtaining information about curriculum materials" (50 percent), "implementing discovery/inquiry approach" (46 percent), and "using manipulative or hands-on materials" (40 percent). Once again these are percentages of teachers who "do not receive adequate assistance" in these areas. Presumably, they would welcome such assistance.

High school social studies teachers' perceived problems and needs were similar to those of their junior high counterparts. Their top three problems were "inadequate student reading abilities" (89 percent saw this as a "serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem"), "lack of student interest in the subject" (79 percent), and "lack of materials for individualizing instruction" (74 percent). Evidence from the case studies reinforces these findings (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:117-118, 1:120, 6:15, 7:33, 9:5). Other problems that seem to be fairly widespread, though not as serious, include inadequate facilities, lack of funds, out-of-date materials, and large class sizes.

Three problems appear to be more widespread at the high school level than the junior high level. Nearly two-thirds of the senior high social studies teachers saw "inadequate articulation across grade levels" as a "serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem," while only 50 percent viewed this as a problem at the junior high level. More high school teachers also saw lack of planning time as a problem. Finally, while most junior high social studies teachers felt that lack of importance of their subject was no significant problem, most high school teachers did. Nearly 40 percent of the 10-12 social studies teachers saw this as "somewhat of a problem," and nearly 20 percent saw it as a "serious problem." Fewer high school science teachers and considerably fewer math teachers felt this problem, despite the fact that social studies requirements at the high school level are still among the most stringent (see Lengel and Superka's paper in this volume).

The needs for assistance identified by high school teachers were similar to those of the junior high teachers. More than half of the 10-12 social studies teachers said they did not receive adequate help in learning new teaching methods and obtaining information about curriculum materials. More than 40 percent of them did not receive enough assistance in using inquiry approaches and hands-on materials. Consistent with their statements of major problems, more high school social studies teachers (35 percent) said they did not receive enough help in "articulating instruction across grade levels" than did junior high teachers (30 percent). However, one would have expected that difference to be even greater, given the substantial difference reported in the problem area.

Many of the problems and needs expressed by K-12 social studies teachers are shared by other teachers. Some, however--for example, student apathy and importance of subject--are felt more keenly by and are more widespread among social studies teachers. One high school social studies teacher in the Illinois case studies may have summed up the feelings of many:

> It's almost as if we have to prove why we're here, why we're functioning. (They as much as say:) "What makes you think you have anything of value to teach us?" You know, I get the feeling many times that I'm on the defensive as a teacher. It isn't enough that I stand up and say, "This is your assignment." I almost feel as though I have to prove it, to prove that there's value in doing it, other than the fact that I just want them to do it (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 4:43).

As we will see in the next section, the frustration expressed in this quote is characteristic of many social studies teachers' feelings toward their profession.

Level of Satisfaction in Profession

Popular magazines have recently published a number of articles dealing with teachers' problems in schools and with news of "good" teachers leaving the profession. The most extensive treatment was a cover story in Time on June 16, 1980, entitled "Help! Teacher Can't Teach!" That article pointed to several reasons why many teachers are becoming frustrated and leaving the profession. The classroom lives of teachers revealed in the NSF data bases hint at some of the same frustrations as those cited by teachers leaving the profession.

Teachers leaving the profession cited lack of student motivation and interest as a major frustration (Walker 1978, pp. 144-145). As shown in the previous section, so did teachers in the NSF studies, one claiming that student lack of motivation was so great a problem that she felt she had to justify her right to teach (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:43). Other teachers claimed that students sought out those classes requiring a minimum amount of work (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:39) and insisted that getting a good grade in order to be admitted to college was a primary motivating factor for students (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:18). In general, more secondary than elementary teachers cite motivation as a problem (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 15: 24-26).

"Teacher burnout" is a currently used term and concern--and an often-cited reason for teacher frustration. The myriad demands placed on teachers add to their frustration:

> Teachers are at times expected to be surrogate parents, grandparents, siblings, priests, therapists, wardens, biographers, babysitters, and friends. They are intermediaries for the school [in which they are] expected to feed the hungry, restore the deprived, redirect the alienated, energize the lethargic, and calm the hyperactive, as well, of course, as educate the ignorant, train the naive, and inspire the downhearted. Many enjoy the challenge. Others are frustrated (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. B:15-16).

This frustration is diffused, not focusing on any one aspect of the school day. For some, the frustration finds focus in the restricted life of teachers in schools:

> Some teachers leave the system because they begin to get a boxed-in feeling. They don't like knowing that every day at the same time, they will be in the classroom, locked in for 50 minutes until the changing bell rings, with no time for a cup of coffee, to go to the bathroom, or just to shake the cobwebs out of their heads.
>
> Then, a ten-minute breather, and it's back in front of a group of students, trying to teach them, knowing that their answers are the ones that count in the learning process, knowing that they have to be sharp, attentive and knowledgeable.
>
> "I didn't feel free to make my own decisions during the day. If I had to make a telephone call, I had to wait for a break. If someone wanted me . . . again, not until the break."
>
> "You tell a lawyer or a salesperson or a housewife that they can only get a drink of water at a certain time, and they'd look at you like you're crazy. But that's what my life was like. I had to wait until a bell rang all the time. Everything is so regulated; there's no allowance for flexibility" (Walker 1978, p. 144).

At least one teacher in the NSF studies echoes these complaints:

> When does a teacher have time to write behavioral objectives? When does a teacher have time to really think about curriculum problems? A teacher doesn't have time to teach. I have never seen so many demeaning jobs, positions in my whole life. We spend no time together sharing ideas. I read so seldom in my field that it is terrible. Grading papers takes over 50 percent of my so-called free time. Student assistants could help file, alphabetize, score objective tests, create scoring distributions. How would you like to be 50 years old, with two professional degrees and have potty-patrol? Or sit out here and watch the door for 30 minutes every morning? Why should I come here at ten minutes of eight to sit at a door? My wife has taught in several places. It is no different. My comments describe but are no criticism of this administration particularly. That's what teachers are supposed to do with their time (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:76).

It is difficult to determine how widespread dissatisfaction is among social studies teachers from the case studies. The individual case studies contain some examples of social studies teachers who express considerable satisfaction with their jobs (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 4:44, 5:15). They also contain, however, numerous examples of staleness, frustration, and dissatisfaction even among the "star" teachers (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 3:82-84, 5:13, 7:36, 9:1, 14:15). There were also clear indications that elementary teachers were more satisfied than secondary teachers (e.g., Stake and Easley 1978, p. 5:9). Many of the examples of frustration in the case studies included science and math teachers as well as social studies teachers.

While teacher burnout and professional dissatisfaction exist throughout the profession, the Goodlad study provides some evidence that these feelings are more widespread among social studies teachers, especially at the secondary levels. In that study, social studies teachers' "initial career expectations had been fulfilled less consistently than were those of other teachers" (Wright 1979, p. 4). Among social studies teachers, this was most prevalent at the middle school level. Only 55 percent of the middle school social studies teachers said their expectations had been fulfilled, and only 51 percent said that if they had to do it over again, they would choose education as a profession. At the high school level, 67 percent said their expectations had been fulfilled and 57 percent said they would choose this profession if they had it to do over. By contrast, nearly 80 percent of the elementary social studies teachers said they were fulfilled and would choose to teach again (Wright 1980).

Again, much of the frustration of secondary social studies teachers reported in the Goodlad study came from difficulties with students, and they cited this reason more often than did other teachers. High school social studies teachers were also less satisfied with their own job performance than other teachers in all nine elements reported in the study. The four elements of their jobs that they were least satisfied with were use of classroom space, use of time, selection of instructional materials, and grouping of students. Middle school social studies teachers were less satisfied than their colleagues in six performance areas. Elementary teachers were more satisfied than high school or middle social studies teachers, but "at no level of schooling were the social studies teachers more than mildly satisfied with any element of their own planning and teaching" (Wright 1980).

Freedom and Diversity

Some evidence is available on two other important characteristics of social studies teaching--freedom and diversity. Social studies teachers probably have somewhat more freedom and evidence somewhat greater diversity than do other teachers.

Elementary and secondary teachers are remarkably free to do what they want in their classrooms. Some forces work to restrict that freedom or standardize instruction, such as the textbook and curriculum guides, but teachers retain considerable autonomy, largely because they work alone. The principal investigators of the Illinois case studies make a strong point about this aspect of teachers' professional lives:

> We found the teacher working alone. During most of the day the classroom was filled with youngsters. Many helped the teacher, often the talk was person-to-person. Sometimes an aide was there, or a parent, or a cadet teacher. Other teachers influenced what the teacher did, but the teacher worked very much alone. Even those few teachers who were "team teaching" were trading-off rather than sharing teaching responsibility. The teacher was little dependent on any other adult, and the dependence of other professional educators on her or him was more rhetorical than apparent. It would be unrealistic to say that the teachers we saw were subordinate to a head of a department or administrator or part of an instructional team. They worked alone (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:27).

What goes on inside the four walls of the classroom is pretty much up to teachers. For most teachers, the classroom is "personal space." Here they have considerable freedom to be themselves, to teach in the manner they deem best for learning, and to decide what ought to be learned. They recognize and act upon the belief that this condition will hold as long as they do not cross the stated or unstated lines drawn by the administration, the board of education, or the community. "Personal space" also exists to the extent they are able to command cooperative student behavior and respect for their authority.

There is no evidence that social studies teachers are more alone than other teachers. They do, however, teach a subject that seems to be less sequential and systematic than math or reading. They may therefore enjoy even more freedom than other teachers to structure instruction for their students on a daily, weekly, and yearly basis. While many teachers in the case studies showed a concern for preparing students for the next grade, there is no specific set of content and skills that needs to be taught in a certain grade. There were a number of references in the case studies to the fact that how social studies was taught and even what is taught in the elementary and secondary school depended to a large extent on the individual teacher (e.g., Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:114, 11:47).

Social studies teachers themselves, moreover, perceive that they have a high level of influence on the nature and content of social studies instruction for their students. Other teachers share a similar feeling in their subject areas, but many of them see other factors as being highly influential as well. Secondary science teachers in the Goodlad study, for example, also rate "commercial materials" as having a high level of influence, while social studies teachers felt that materials had only a moderate influence on them (Wright 1980). Thus, social studies teachers are seen by themselves and by others as having considerable freedom to structure and affect the experiences their students have with social studies.

The second quality--diversity--seems particularly characteristic of social studies teachers. Many of the case study observers noted the tremendous diversity found in teachers at both the elementary and secondary levels. While there were some references generally (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 2:20, 2:22, 3:98, and 5:8) to idiosyncratic teaching styles, several observers commented specifically that there was more diversity and variation among social studies teachers than among math and science teachers (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 2:11, 2:18, 5:6, 7:19). This diversity was reflected in their views of the big ideas of social studies, how they taught social studies, and what they taught (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 1:55, 1:115, 11:15-16). It was also reflected in how often teachers, parents, administrators, and students talked about "strong" teachers and "weak" teachers, or ordinary teachers and "glow" teachers. One ethnographer referred frequently to "living legends" (Stake and Easley 1978, pp. 3:59, 3:86, 3:112, 5:15). One observer noted, for instance, the great variability he found in the high school social studies department:

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> The variability in experience, style, and quality seems greater among these teachers than in science and math. The department contains two teachers considered the best in the school by many students, and also two of the poorest. Classes I observed varied considerably as well; in one instance, I witnessed an exciting small group discussion in the learning center on conflict resolution, while in a U.S. history class I saw an Encyclopedia Britannica film on the Virginia Constitution which was deemed so important that no mention was made at all of the previous day's presidential election. The teacher's rigid lesson plan and his failure to relate to students resulted in a missed opportunity to make history "come alive" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 5:6).

Many research studies on social studies teachers report mainly average or central tendency results. Focusing exclusively on these results can convey the notion that high school social studies teachers or elementary social studies teachers are a homogeneous group. To gain a realistic picture of social studies in the nation's schools, one must also recognize the great degree of diversity and freedom which exists among social studies faculties. Precisely what the effects of this freedom and diversity are on social studies programs and on students is not known. Research focusing on systematic differences among social studies teachers and the impact of these differences on students is needed.

Further Research

The findings on social studies teachers presented in this paper are based on a considerable amount of national research available to Project SPAN from 1978 to 1981. Some findings were also based on or supplemented by informal analyses, personal experiences, and the collective judgments of the SPAN staff and consultants. We believe that we have presented an accurate and detailed picture of social studies teachers, based on these sources of information. Further research to confirm and extend these findings is needed, however. Below we have listed some specific research needs and questions that seem particularly important for future research efforts. This list is by no means complete or comprehensive.

1. There is a need to involve social studies teachers in research efforts, not merely as passive subjects but as active, coequal partners. Shaver, Davis, and Helburn (1979a) were the first to stress this implication of the NSF studies. They have stated the case for this need very well:

> [Social studies] teachers should not be treated exclusively as "subjects" in research studies. They should be partners in the research enterprise. They should be brought into studies as knowledgeable "informants"--in the positive sense of sources of otherwise unobtainable information about the realities that condition the use and effectiveness of teaching methods and materials. Equally important, teachers should be involved to a much greater extent in the process of defining needed research. Such a research partnership need not subvert researchers' interests in theory development--which have not borne much fruit to date; it could help to build linkages so that instructional research in social studies would have greater payoffs for school practices (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979a, p. 23).

Project SPAN shares this belief that social studies teachers must be involved in defining research needs and conducting research, particularly if the results are to be meaningful to practitioners in the field.

2. There is a need for research on the specific nature of preservice and inservice training for social studies teachers. As we have shown in this paper, considerable general information about the backgrounds and training of social studies teachers is available. What is needed is information that goes beyond percentages of teachers with advanced degrees to reveal more about the education and social science backgrounds of current teachers. Several studies have failed to show a significant relationship between the amount of preservice training of social studies teachers and student achievement. There may, however, be very important relationships between the kind and nature of that preparation, inservice training, and student learning and attitudes in social studies.

Some possible questions to explore are: What proportion of social studies teachers have undergraduate education degrees or degrees in history and the social sciences? To what extent are teachers prepared more in one discipline--for example, history--versus several social sciences? How many teachers have had specific social studies methods courses as part of their preservice training? Is there any relationship between the quality of social studies methods courses received by teachers and the attitudes and achievements of their students? What specific kinds of inservice training do social studies teachers receive? What kinds do they need? What kinds of inservice training are most effective in improving teachers' abilities and students' learning?

3. There is a need for more research that identifies different types of social studies teachers rather than describing the average social studies teacher. While many tendencies and characteristics are shared by a large number of social studies teachers (e.g, the use of lecture and recitation techniques), great diversity among teachers exists along many dimensions (including the idiosyncratic ways in which teachers apply lecture/recitation techniques). We need more research aimed at clarifying the nature of this diversity, identifying important variables, and explaining the impact of different types of teachers on students and social studies programs. There has been some research in these areas in the past (see Tucker 1977, pp. 114-119). These efforts should be extended to include not only experiential studies but also descriptive research.

Some specific questions worth exploring are: What proportion of the social studies teachers in a school, district, or nation have a particular teaching style; for example, expository, opinion, or inquiry? Do these various types of teachers use curriculum materials differently? What effects on student learning are achieved? What are the characteristics of "strong" and "weak" social studies teachers? What kinds of training can help teachers become "strong" teachers? How does the cognitive style of social studies teachers affect student learning in social studies? Are teachers with different cognitive styles more effective with certain groups of students? Are teachers, including social studies teachers, in various stages of career development? How do the different stages affect teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors and those of their students?

4. There is a need for research to confirm the apparent lack of professional satisfaction felt by many social studies teachers and to determine specific causes and sources of that dissatisfaction. While professional dissatisfaction and teacher burnout are becoming character-

istic of the entire teaching profession, some recent evidence, particularly the Goodlad study, indicates that the situation is even worse and more widespread among social studies teachers at the secondary levels. Before we can begin to help teachers build more fulfilling and satisfying professional lives, we must determine how widespread these feelings are and what the major sources of dissatisfaction are.

Some specific research questions which warrant investigation are: What proportion of social studies teachers feel less than satisfied with their professional lives? How does this compare with other teachers? What are the specific reasons for these teachers' being less satisfied? What factors leading to social studies teacher dissatisfaction are common to the teaching profession, and what factors are unique to social studies? Why do some social studies teachers achieve great satisfaction while many others do not? To what extent do social studies teachers believe that their work has intellectual integrity and contributes to their own growth and that of their students? How does this compare with other teachers? How do teachers' perceptions of professional welfare affect their performance?

5. There is a need for research focused on the beliefs, values, actions, and relationships of social studies teachers as part of complex social systems. There has been some research on teacher beliefs, values, and attitudes and their relationships to teacher behavior and student outcomes (see, for example, studies cited in Tucker 1977, pp. 114-115). This research should continue, with greater effort to place these factors in the social context of school systems. While the individual teacher in a classroom of students is still the central focus of activity, it is clear that all actors are part of a complex social system and are influenced by their peers and the norms and hidden curricula of the schools. These connections and their effects on social studies teachers and their students need more exploration.

Some specific research questions related to this area are: How are new teachers, including social studies teachers, socialized into the profession? How are social studies teachers' professional beliefs and values acquired and modified in this system? How do formal and informal collegial relationships among teachers affect their attitudes and actions as teachers? How do social studies teachers actually use other teachers as sources of information? What are the primary support systems for social studies teachers? What characteristics do social studies teachers have primarily because they are part of an elementary, middle, junior, or senior high school? What kinds of professional relationships do different social studies teachers have with their students, inside and outside the classroom? How do social studies teachers influence their students as role models? What specific effects does this modeling have?

"A Profile of Social Studies Teachers"

The results of a study entitled, "A Profile of Social Studies Teachers," were reported in the October 1981 issue of Social Education. The findings of this study are directly related to this SPAN report; many are in areas where little has been known before. Since this paper was completed before the "profile" was published, the findings could not be integrated into the main body. We have, therefore, included a summary of these findings here. All interpretive remarks included are based on those articles; they are not the interpretations of SPAN project members.

Overview

The study was conducted by members of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University. A questionnaire survey was mailed to 1,200 social studies teachers, grades 7-12, in six states--Kansas, Mississippi, Washington, Wisconsin, New Mexico, and Vermont. This was an 11 percent random sample of social studies teachers on the lists from which the sample was drawn in these states. Slightly more than 400 teachers responded with completed surveys. While the responses may not be fully representative of all social studies teachers, the study is an important start in finding out more about the personal and professional lives of social studies teachers. Therefore, we summarize their results with these limitations in mind and with hopes that it will stimulate similar efforts in other states.

The survey focused on four aspects of social studies teachers. Each of these aspects is dealt with in a separate article:

"Social Studies Teachers: A Personal Profile," by C. Frederick Risinger

"Social Studies Teachers as Political Participants," by Rochelle Ganz

"Controversial Issues as Viewed by Social Studies Teachers," by Mary Soley

"Social Studies Teachers: Their View of Their Profession," by Lynn R. Nelson

An overview of the entire research study is also provided (Ochoa 1981). Brief summaries and highlights of each of these articles are provided below.

Demographic Information and Personal Interests

The vast majority of these social studies teachers are white, male, 40 or under, parents, and fairly religious. They read widely, watch TV in moderation, enjoy visiting and entertaining friends, travel outside the United States, but do not engage in vigorous physical activity. Nearly half of these teachers had degrees beyond the bachelor's. Social studies teachers in rural areas were less educated (in terms of degrees), attended fewer inservice meetings, and read less than those in other areas.

The following tables provide data on the age and sex distribution for this sample of teachers and the breakdown on degrees held by geographic area.

Table 9

SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS, GRADES 7-12
AGE AND SEX

	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	over 60
Men	16.7%	46.1%	25.9%	9.2%	2.1%
Women	13.1%	41.0%	24.6%	16.4%	4.1%

(Risinger 1981, p. 405)

Table 10

SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS, GRADES 7-12
DEGREES AND GEOGRAPHIC AREAS

	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.
Urban Inner-City	41.8%	54.5%	3.6%
Urban Outer-City	53.3%	43.3%	3.3%
Suburban	41.8%	57.3%	0.9%
Rural	61.4%	38.0%	---

(Risinger 1981, p. 406)

Other specific findings related to demographic and personal characteristics of this group of social studies teachers follow:

--Nearly 90 percent were white

--70 percent were men

--Nearly 30 percent were parents

--70 percent said they were "very" or "moderately" religious

--95 percent read a daily newspaper

--84 percent read magazines regularly (especially news magazines and professional journals)

--60 percent read books frequently

--60 percent listed "visiting and entertaining friends" as an important leisure activity

--Nearly half listed attending sporting events and gardening as also important

--Nearly 80 percent said they have traveled outside the United States at least once, Canada being the most frequent destination

--Four out of ten said they have visited other countries at least three times

Political Participation

The extent of political participation reported by social studies teachers in this study was much greater than that reported for the general public in similar studies. The most widespread reported participation, however, occurred in those activities (such as voting) that require little commitment and involvement. As part of a profession that espouses considerable citizen participation, this group of social studies teachers may fall short of being effective role models. Generally, older and more experienced social studies teachers reported more participation than younger and less experienced teachers. Participation was especially low among those with 6 to 10 years teaching experience, who may be experiencing burnout and cynicism and having questions about their careers. Overall, however, this entire sample of social studies teachers was clearly more trusting and confident and less cynical about the American electoral and political system than the general public, as shown by comparison with data from the American National Studies Sourcebook 1952-1978 (Miller 1980). The following table shows selected findings comparing this group of social studies teachers with the general public.

Table 11

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES: SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

Political Activities	Social Studies Teachers	General Public
Registered to vote	98%	67%
Identified as Democrat	40%	53%
Identified as Republican	22%	31%
Identified as independent	35%	14%
Contributes money to party or candidate	56%*	10%
Contributes time to party or candidate	50%*	5%
Displays campaign paraphernalia	62%*	12%
Writes letters to public officials	66%*	23%
Writes letters to the editor	27%*	NA
Tries to convince others to participate	84%*	26%
Attends public hearings or debates	55%**	8%

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*The percentage of social studies teachers who reported that they do this activity "frequently" or "occasionally."

**The percentage of social studies teachers who reported that they do this activity "occasionally."

NA Data were not available or reported in this article.

(Ganz 1981, p. 408)

Controversial Issues

Based on reactions related to a variety of controversial social issues (such as busing, ERA, abortion, and the role of the federal government), three conclusions were reached about this sample of social studies teachers: (1) their opinions on these issues are similar to those of the general public, (2) their opinions cannot be easily classified as conservative or liberal, and (3) "factors such as sex, age, religion, and years of experience do not seem to influence these views appreciably" (Soley 1981, p. 417).

A summary of selected findings related to specific controversial issues follows:

Equal Rights Amendment: 54 percent support its passage; younger, single, and female teachers and Democrats showed greater support.

Balanced federal budget: A majority support it; teachers over 40 and Republicans showed greater support.

Federal power: A majority said it has grown too much at the expense of state and local governments; especially Republicans and Reagan voters.

Federal government effect on education: 53 percent do not believe that the effect has been positive; especially Republicans and Reagan voters.

Constitutional amendment banning abortion: Nearly two-thirds do not support passage of this amendment.

Draft registration: Nearly 75 percent believe it is necessary for the security of the United States.

Draft registration for women: Almost 63 percent support it.

Civil rights: 88 percent believe gains have been made, 72 percent believe discrimination is still a major problem, and 54 percent believe that reverse discrimination has resulted from efforts to provide equitable opportunities.

Busing: Almost two-thirds do not support busing as a means for achieving racial integration.

Sexual preference as an employment criterion: Nearly 60 percent do not believe it should be a factor in hiring teachers; the remaining 40 percent are either undecided or believe it should be.

Religious activity in public schools: A majority do not believe this should occur; slightly more than one-fourth believe it is appropriate.

Sex education: An overwhelming majority support providing opportunities for sex education in the curriculum.

American values: 76 percent support teaching traditional American values.

Discussion of controversial issues: 98 percent support a balanced discussion of controversial issues in the classroom.

Textbook selection and the public: A slight majority "do not believe that increased public involvement in the textbook-selection process should be encouraged."

Competency tests: 53 percent support the use of statewide competency tests in social studies as a requirement for graduation.

Teacher competency: A slight majority "believe that teachers should be required to demonstrate their competency through examinations and/or continued inservice training."

The Profession

The overwhelming majority of social studies teachers in this study enjoy teaching, are proud to be teachers, and are optimistic about the future of social studies. The author of this section of the survey concluded:

> The most important finding of this section of the survey is that intrinsic rewards in teaching are more important than tangible items such as salary. Over 94% of the teachers responding are both proud of their jobs and enjoy being social studies teachers, in spite of the fact that almost 50% of these same teachers are dissatisfied by salaries. Social studies teachers who are able to develop a network of positive relationships with students, administrators, parents, and citizens are more likely to remain in teaching and enjoy their work. This finding has important implications for teachers, administrators, school boards, students, parents, and professional organizations (Nelson 1981, p. 420).

The vast majority of these social studies teachers were not members of their local or state social studies councils or NCSS, but were members of NEA or AFT, as shown in the following table.

Table 12

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS

	NCSS	State Councils	Local Councils	AHA	APSA	NCGE	NEA or AFT
Member	16.4%	20.1%	6.6%	5.4%	.2%	.7%	79.0%

AHA: American Historical Association
APSA: American Political Science Association
NCGE: National Council on Geographic Education

(Nelson 1981, p. 420)

Social studies teachers in inner-city and suburban schools were more likely to be members of NCSS than rural or outer-city teachers, as were more experienced teachers. NCSS members tended to vote Democratic in the last election and to provide more support for ERA than nonmembers.

Although 94 percent of the social studies teachers said they enjoyed teaching and were proud to be social studies teachers, some sources of dissatisfaction were cited and some teachers acknowledged that they were considering leaving the profession. Low salaries are the major source of dissatisfaction: "Half of the teachers who indicated that they were dissatisfied reported that uninterested students are a prime factor." Men were more likely to leave the profession at the midpoint of their careers than women. More teachers who have part-time or summer jobs are seriously considering leaving the profession than those who do not.

What characteristics do the social studies teachers who enjoy teaching and are proud to be teachers seem to share? The author of this section of the study listed the following characteristics:

> Teachers who enjoy their work often share the following characteristics:
>
> 1. They are optimistic about the future of social studies.
> 2. They receive administrative support and commitment for guest speakers, field trips, supplementary materials, etc.
> 3. They feel confident about the adequacy of their academic background.
> 4. They have the support of parents in the community.

5. They do not feel harassed or constrained by administration or administrative policy.
6. They have uncrowded classrooms.
7. They have control of classroom discipline.

Teachers who are proud to be members of their profession often exhibited the above characteristics. They are likely to hold the following views as well:
1. They consider themselves well informed on public issues.
2. They attend public hearings and debates.
3. They value contact with parents.
4. They enjoy students.
5. They believe that voting is important.
6. They encourage students and colleagues to participate in political activities.

(Nelson 1981, p. 418)

Relationship to SPAN Findings

How do the findings presented in the Indiana profile of social studies teachers compare with those presented in this paper? Most of the demographic findings from the profile are consistent with those reported in the SPAN paper (which came primarily from the RTI and Goodlad studies). The profile does provide age distribution data rather than just the average age of social studies teachers, an important addition to the description of the people teaching social studies today. The profile also provides self-report information on the personal lives of social studies teachers, their views on controversial issues, and the nature of their political participation--data which have not been presented in other sections of this paper.

Finally, the data presented on social studies teachers' views of their profession extend and embellish findings related to the profession which have been presented in this paper. The profile provides some further clues as to the sources of dissatisfaction among social studies teachers and possible reasons for teachers' decisions to leave the profession. The major finding of the profile survey--that more than 94 percent of the social studies teachers enjoy teaching and are proud to be teachers--seems to conflict with findings from the NSF and Goodlad studies presented in this SPAN paper. The discrepancy may be the result of different samples of teachers and different types of questions asked. The Goodlad study focused on fulfillment of career expectations and areas of satisfaction and dissatisfaction rather than pride and enjoyment. That study also compared social studies teachers with other teachers, finding them usually less fulfilled and satisfied. The profile does not have that kind of comparative data. Clearly, further investigation and clarification are needed on this vital question.

Conclusion

Recent research, particularly the NSF-sponsored studies, has confirmed what many people involved in schools have known for a long time: the teacher is the key to what happens in social studies (and other) classrooms. Precisely how this key works and to what effect, however, has not been clarified. The NSF studies also demonstrate that textbooks are an important key to what happens in social studies classrooms. Much remains to be learned about how these two keys work together to influence students.

We do know some important things about those who teach social studies. The overwhelming majority of elementary teachers are female, while the majority of secondary teachers are male. Social studies teachers at all levels are quite experienced, averaging between 11 and 13 years of teaching experience. They have also undertaken considerable preservice training, and most have also taken recent inservice courses. Elementary teachers feel more qualified to teach reading and math than social studies and science. They also spend more time teaching those subjects. Junior and senior high social studies teachers feel qualified to teach their subjects and spend most of their time doing that. Only a few teach other subjects as well. Social studies teachers are not very active in their professional associations, but they value other teachers as sources of information about new developments in their field. Teacher unions are not a significant factor in this respect, but they are a major influence on social studies and other teachers' professional lives, particularly in urban areas.

We also know quite a bit about the needs, problems, views, and attitudes of social studies teachers. As parts of the social systems of their communities and schools, social studies teachers see socialization and preparation of students for further education and for their future as primary aims. Moreover, teachers' behavior in classrooms, related to the content of instruction and to classroom management, is consistent with these goals. Many teachers see and use subject matter as a vehicle for achieving these broader goals.

Major problems and needs for teachers of elementary social studies are related to materials and planning time. For secondary social studies teachers, lack of student interest and inadequate reading abilities are prime concerns. Some evidence indicates that social studies teachers, especially at the secondary level, are less satisfied with their profession than are other teachers; this is true at a time when teacher burnout and dissatisfaction appear to be widespread throughout the entire profession.

While the above generalizations about most or many social studies teachers can be made from the available research data, it is also true that there is considerable diversity among social studies teachers--even more so than among other teachers. Social studies teachers also enjoy a high level of freedom--once the classroom door is closed--to teach social studies the way they want. Textbooks, training, and teachers' common views and attitudes work as centripetal forces in shaping students' experiences in social studies. Freedom and diversity among teachers work as centrifugal forces to create many variations and differences in those experiences. Sorting out the interplay between those two sets of forces and clarifying their impact on social studies classrooms and students could be an important research goal for the 1980s.

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INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By Verna S. Fancett and Sharryl Hawke

> What goes on in the class is up to the teacher . . . The classes . . . that I observed emphasized again that the teacher is "the magic ingredient." Whether learning occurs or not is directly related to his imagination and understanding of his children (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 11:47).

This report by a classroom observer vividly points to a conclusion reached by others in social studies education--the teacher, through his or her teaching practices, is a key, perhaps the key, to student learning. Curriculum is important; texts and supplements are important; school climate is important. But when the proverbial classroom door closes, it is the teacher who decides what will be taught and how it will be taught; the force of the teacher's personality and methods turn students on--or off--to learning.

Despite the seemingly obvious power of the "teacher teaching," little research has been conducted on instructional practices over the past 20 years. In summarizing the literature on social studies education from 1955 to 1975 for the National Science Foundation, Karen Wiley wrote: "The status literature on practices is one of the most barren areas of social studies research during the last two decades" (Wiley 1977, p. 48). After reviewing the limited research that was available, Wiley concluded:

> It can be safely said that we know very little about what were the most commonly used classroom practices in social studies throughout the U.S. at any particular time during the last 20 years (Wiley 1977, p. 77).

The other two National Science Foundation studies have added significantly to our knowledge about instructional practices. The RTI survey provides much more information on the central tendencies in instructional practices of teachers throughout the nation. The case studies done by Robert Stake and Jack Easley document what goes on "inside" social studies classrooms.

In some respects the data provided by the three NSF studies raise as many questions as they answer. Even so, or perhaps because of this, they are a giant step forward. This paper is based on the information

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in the three NSF studies, other research data published since 1976, and the experiences of the authors and other members of the SPAN consultant panel and staff.

Diversity in Instruction

One of the major conclusions of the Lengel and Superka paper on curriculum organization is that there is remarkable uniformity in the social studies curriculum taught across the nation--at least in course titles and grade-level topics. Yet social studies classes are not identical across the nation, or even within a school. The diversity seems to spring not from what is taught, but rather from how it is taught. Case study observers saw evidence of this individuality in the social studies classes they observed. One wrote, "The approaches to the subject matter, the methods used, the content of the course, are blended together by the various teachers in many different ways . . . instruction appears to cover the full gamut of approaches and methodologies" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:19).

Strategies vary from the pole of "lecture and drill" to the pole of "free-wheeling discussion and rap session," all dependent on how the teacher judges a particular situation in a particular class at a particular time. Some teachers order their techniques according to the calendar, following the "It's Tuesday So It Must Be Belgium" rule:

> Typically one day a week is spent with the students reading from their texts. Another day is set aside for a lecture or "simulation game." The next day is for free reading, the next for a film and the last for current events (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:19).

Other teachers' plans are as varied as the students they teach, changing not only from day to day, but from student to student in one short period:

> At one time Mr. Smith had some of his students working on locating countries on a map. Other students were working on reports that they were to give in class at a later date. Still another group of students was involved in reading some assignments they had missed . . . . The classroom had an aura of accomplishment (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:20).

Decisions related to instructional techniques are almost entirely the individual and very personal domain of the particular teacher. While some teachers would like even more freedom and some see a need for more direction from above at the local or state level, most are content with the way things are. As a result, they blend content and teaching styles in a variety of ways to teach the particular students they have in the best way they can devise.

Although at times teachers feel powerless, they sense that they are the key to student learning, the critical element in the entire process of education. In choosing exactly what will take place in the classroom, they have power and they use it, opting for those tools that they consider most efficient and productive for the job at hand. As one case study researcher wrote:

> The picture of mathematics, science and social studies that emerges is more a picture of teachers than of curriculum, of a culture than of disciplines, but it is very real (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1: Preface).

Trying to categorize social studies teachers is like trying to categorize snowflakes: when you think you've found a match, you begin to notice the differences. The remainder of this report often focuses on central tendencies rather than on individuality, because much of the available information concentrates on likenesses rather than differences. Even in considering central tendencies, however, the "snowflake" characteristics of teaching should be kept in mind.

Student Grouping Practices

One characteristic of social studies instruction examined in the RTI survey is student grouping practices. The survey data present a fairly clear picture of the extent of large-group instruction, small-group work, individualized instruction, and ability grouping. Less clear are the reasons why these practices are employed.

Large-Group Instruction

At every grade level, social studies teachers spend at least half their instructional time working with the entire class as a group. This grouping practice predominates in grades 10-12, where it occurs more than two-thirds of the time (Weiss 1978, p. 111). Large-group instruction is not limited to the senior high level, however. Even in grades K-3, 59 percent of class time is spent in large-group instruction.

The incidence of large-group instruction takes on more importance when the factor of class size is considered. Among science, math, and social studies classes, the largest class sizes are found in social studies at nearly every grade level. Average class size varied in the national survey from 24 students in grades K-3, to 28 in grades 4-6, 30 in 7-9, and 27 in 10-12 (Weiss 1978, p. 67).

When asked to assess their problems, 49 percent of the social studies teachers considered class size as a "serious problem" or "somewhat of a problem." Interestingly, more math teachers considered class size a problem, although their classes were smaller; about the same percentage of science teachers as social studies teachers ranked class size as a problem. In all three subject areas, class size was considered a more serious problem for instruction by teachers than by principals and state and local supervisors (Weiss 1978, p. 162).

Large groups are used for many purposes, from storytelling to testing, from lecturing to showing a film or hosting a guest speaker. In many cases the large group is viewed as the most efficient way to handle large classes and small space. Although teachers seem to accept this situation as necessary due to other school-wide considerations, some statements indicate that they are not entirely comfortable with the arrangement: "We have large classes in social studies to let them have small classes in reading and math . . . We aren't getting them taught any geography this way. It's awful what they say in high school about it and they are right" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:35).

Small-Group Instruction

At no grade level do teachers use small groups more than 15 percent of the time (Weiss 1978, p. 111). The percentage of time spent in small groups is nearly the same across grade levels, despite the common assumption that elementary teachers do more small-group work than secondary teachers. Little in the data helps explain the small percentage of time given to small-group instruction. One factor which is apparently not an explanation is "lack of assistance." More than 60 percent of social studies teachers report that they "do not need assistance" (i.e., inservice training or resource material) in small-group instruction (Weiss 1978, p. 147). Two factors that do seem to restrict teachers' use of the practice is the lack of paraprofessional help in the classroom and the lack of adequate physical space in which to work with small groups (Weiss 1978, pp. 135, B103). To avoid confusion, teachers opt for large-group, more easily controlled arrangements.

Individualized Instruction

Reflecting on individualizing practices, one case study reporter reached this conclusion:

> In their own classrooms most teachers treated children as individually different (if they could find time to), recognizing that developmental patterns and basic knowledge would be greatly similar, but recognizing also that each child's education is a continuous extension of personal associations of the mind. They had different expectations for different youngsters, sometimes giving marks on the basis of what the child should be doing with his/her skill and background rather than on the basis of what was accomplished. They grouped children in teams, clusters, and tracks, and put them on individual pathways and pacings, in order to move them through assignments expeditiously. They did not do all these things equitably or even wisely. But they did them with a deep conviction that to teach effectively you have to treat individual students in unequal ways. They often did not know what to do about the requirements of government and the rulings of courts to treat children as equals (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:13).

In spite of the emphasis on large-group instruction and the almost casual use of small groups, social studies teachers do spend considerable time working individually with students, at least one-fifth of their time in K-3 and 10-12, and more than one-third in grades 4-9 (Weiss 1978, p. 111). However, one cannot conclude from the evidence that what happens in all these one-on-one encounters meets the criteria for what is generally described as individualized instruction.

One impediment to individualized instruction is the belief of social studies teachers that materials to individualize are not available. Among 18 possible problems, "lack of materials for individualizing instruction" is ranked second most serious by social studies teachers. Teachers at all grade levels regard this as a problem (Table 1).

Table 1

PERCENT OF TEACHERS CONSIDERING LACK OF MATERIALS TO INDIVIDUALIZE INSTRUCTION TO BE A "SERIOUS" OR "SOMEWHAT SERIOUS" PROBLEM

Grade Level	Percent of Teachers
K-3	66%
4-6	67%
7-9	83%
10-12	74%

(Weiss 1978, p. B39)

The problem is also considered serious by principals and state and district social studies supervisors (Weiss 1978, p. 159).

While teachers try to individualize instruction and seem to want to do even more, little in the current research base provides guidance on how this can be done. Writing about this situation in a review of research, Martorella states:

> There is evidence [from the field of cognitive style effects] that individuals vary in the ways in which they confront, process, and ultimately resolve thinking tasks. What specific implications this fact has for learning a variety of different social studies tasks across a variety of instructional designs remains, among other factors, to be established. From investigations into this area should come directions on how to begin matching students with appropriate instruction for given objectives (Martorella 1977, p. 41).

Ability Grouping

Grouping according to ability does exist in social studies instruction, though much less frequently than in mathematics and science (Weiss 1977, p. B7). In elementary grades grouping is often based on reading ability and the difficulty of the material to be read. About 15 percent of elementary social studies classes are grouped according to some ability related to skills. Ability grouping is most common in junior high, with almost a third of the classes grouped; it is somewhat less common in senior high, with about 24 percent of classes grouped. Overall, about three-fourths of social studies teachers work with heterogeneous classes (Weiss 1978, p. B7).

When students are grouped, it appears that high- and low-ability classes are offered in about equal numbers. At the K-3 level seven percent of the classes surveyed by RTI were for high-ability students and seven percent for low-ability students. At the junior high level the figures were 14 percent for high ability and 17 percent for low ability. Figures were similar for 4-6 and 10-12 (Weiss 1978, p. B7). While the numbers of classes offered for low- and high-ability students may be equal, teacher preference for these classes is not, as one case study observer reported. "While some teachers find social studies teaching most rewarding with the most able children, I found none who enjoyed social studies teaching with the least able" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:34).

Semantic differences cause confusion in discussing such terms as grouping, individualizing, tracking, and leveling. Tracking, to many of the school people involved in the case studies, meant the placement of students into a preset series of courses all described as "low ability." Since that practice has been declared illegal by the courts, such tracking is rarely found. Where it is found, it is deplored:

> But once you track these kids there isn't any way to get them off the track and you can talk to administrators until you're blue in the face and everyone of them will tell you, "Oh, we retrack, we retrack." Get ahold of the records on kids and you'll see that they are not retracked. In fact the one kid in ten, no, one in twenty-five, that gets retracked is so rare that everyone points to it as flexibility! (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:124).

The more common practice, leveling, makes extensive use of diagnostic instruments to move students in and out of learning experiences. Thus, students in social studies may be grouped for reinforcement of skills or enrichment part of the time and returned to the large, heterogeneous group for the remainder of the time. The goal is to maintain the free flow of students from level to level as needs are met.

In high school, although students are not tracked per se, course offerings result in a kind of "natural selection" by the students themselves and their counselors or teachers according to interests, abilities, and goals. In one high school,

> The courses in the social studies department are not tracked per se; but (in ninth grade, for example) most of the lower-tracked students are enrolled in geography and current affairs, while the higher-tracked students are enrolled in world history. By the end of their high school careers (graduation or withdrawal), most of the lower-tracked students will have taken only one or two courses in the social studies department, while the level four students will most likely have taken three courses (world history, history, and sociology-economics) (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:31).

In reviewing the research on grouping practices, Wiley reached this conclusion about the status of the practice:

> Surveys of grouping practices in social studies were rather popular during the period 1965-1969. These studies focused on what has been called "tracking," that is, assigning students to separate classes depending on level of ability. Hardly any attention has been given to grouping practices within single classrooms. The grouping studies have generally found that the major differences among various levels or tracks are in the amount and depth of content covered and the reading level of materials used (Wiley 1977, p. 78).

Under whatever label is chosen--tracks, levels, clusters, peer groups, pacings--grouping does exist, and it exists, teachers say, to help students. Grouping may not always be done wisely or equitably, but it is done out of a conviction that for instruction to be effective, students must be treated in different ways--sometimes even in unequal ways (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:13).

Teaching Arrangements

The survey and literature review provide very little information concerning the use and effectiveness of various teaching arrangements in social studies instruction. This lack is curious considering the advocacy of team teaching and open-space concepts in the 1970s. The most insightful data about the use of such arrangements comes from observations made by site observers in the case studies of school systems which employed such practices.

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Single Teacher

The case studies clearly indicate that social studies teachers, like other teachers, generally work alone:

> We found the teacher working alone. During most of the day the classroom was filled with youngsters. Many helped the teacher, often the talk was person-to-person. Sometimes an aide was there, or a parent, or a cadet teacher. Other teachers influenced what the teacher did, but the teacher worked very much alone. . . . It would be unrealistic to say that the teachers we saw were subordinate to a head of a department or administrator or part of an instructional team. They worked alone (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:27).

The classroom is a teacher's personal space, his or her territory or turf. This attitude common to most teachers is often closely related to their sense of individuality. It is also tied to their feelings of responsibility toward their students, the need to control what happens so that students will learn. So strong is the feeling that the only "outsiders" most social studies students see in their classroom are the very occasional guest speakers, a visiting dignitary in the district, or the principal or department chairperson who is required to file an observation report.

Working alone allows teachers to "go to their own strengths," selecting not only those methods and techniques they consider best, but also those with which they are most comfortable and talented. Especially where discipline is a problem, maintaining control seems more possible when there is but one figure of authority in the room, using his or her most effective methods.

Cluster and Team Teaching

Cluster or team teaching and cross-discipline teaching do exist, but in rare instances. Even when involved in a team situation, teachers still work alone, rotating rather than sharing responsibilities (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:27). It is often a case of "you teach today and I'll teach tomorrow." The time made available by this every-other-day arrangement is used to do housekeeping tasks or to prepare for the next day's responsibilities. Such use of team teaching in part explains the finding of a dissertation study that teachers emphasize administrative and teacher benefits more than student benefits when discussing team teaching (Wiley 1977, p. 64).

Much more research into this strategy is needed, but one suspects that teachers are loathe to relinquish their right to decide what happens to their students when they are shared with another teacher, as did one experienced teacher who reported on teaming the previous year:

> Decided during summer not to do it because teachers felt they were not able to put their "individual stamp" on their classes. Also, they were unable to tell who got what from whom (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:52).

Activity Centers/Open Space

The term "activity center" embraces a wide variety of instruction and uses. In one school an activity center may be a completely free and open area where students choose optional activities during a scheduled or unscheduled period. Often found in the elementary school, this type of center may be a converted classroom filled with "goodies" and supervised by a teacher. In another school, the activity room may take the form of a social studies lab where students work on special projects, from map-making to the construction of a castle or the painting of a mural. Such centers are probably not common to most schools.

Also included in this category is the center contructed purposely to implement the "open-space" concept. Here, both formal teaching and special activities can be accommodated. The instructional techniques of the social studies teacher in such an arrangement are often dictated by such things as noise level, movement of students from area to area, and--perhaps most important--the ability of the teacher to cope with the lack of walls and structure. Such things are bound to have an effect on how the teacher teaches, as reported by one case study observer:

> East and West Junior High Schools have the same general curriculum, but otherwise could not be more different. West has self-contained classrooms with an atmosphere to match. . . . East Junior High is an open-space school, noisy, casual, buzzing with activity, often vilified (quite unfairly) as a zoo, having more discipline problems than West and greater ethnic and socioeconomic variety among its students. Perhaps because of the open space, the instructional processes are more varied (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:14).

Open space in the elementary school is apt to be very different from open space in the junior high. As a site reporter in a district that made extensive use of open space put it, "Labels are convenient and tricky. The twenty-mule Borax team had eighteen mules and two lead horses. Open space in the junior high and elementary schools are the same in name only" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:40).

Reactions to open space, where it existed in the case study schools, were mixed. The above reporter summarized his observations of open space this way:

> Open space is a tolerated rather than an enjoyed feature of social studies instruction. The prevailing view is that the district administration decided on the open-space architecture and they had to plan within that concept. But two young teachers said that open space means no discussion in class. When class discussion is tried, the arm-waving, laughter, and oral disagreement have the potential to distract over 200 other students not involved. The good news about open space is that the students can see that all the other teachers cover the same content that theirs does. "It shows them we are not being unfair" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:52).

Given their choice of walls or no walls, social studies teachers probably opt for walls--the self-contained classroom. Where open space exists, it seems to be tolerated at best. The favored arena for the social studies teacher is the classroom, certainly at the high school level, and most probably elsewhere.

Time Allotments

If teachers do most of their work in the classroom as the sole instructor, how do they use their time? Although some of their time is spent "teaching," many other responsibilities also occupy the teacher. This section explores some of those other responsibilities as well as teaching.

Administrivia

If we assume that most beginning social studies teachers chose their profession out of a desire to teach, it is no surprise that they are often shocked and disillusioned by the amount of time they must spend on clerical tasks, what some label "administrivia." They are not alone; so-called "veteran teachers" continue to rate this part of their jobs as annoying and frustrating. As one said, "I always thought that the main goal of education was teaching kids; now I find out that the main goal is management" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:55).

How much time is taken from teaching by the required performance of clerical duties? The answer depends in part on the secretarial staff a district is able to support, the number of aides available, and the number of reports required by someone from above--the principal, the state, the federal government. Report requirements have mushroomed over the past few years, with more and more precise data required on more and more subjects. The actual time during a day, or more likely after school, spent on this type of activity is difficult to estimate, even for teachers, because it is sporadic. There are peaks and troughs, depending on when reports are due. While a substantial portion of "administrivia" time is necessitated by the bureaucratic requirements of the institution, the John Goodlad study of schooling strongly suggests that not all "wasted time" is imposed by external forces. Much of school's wasted time involves activities over which teachers do have control, "recesses that run too long, leisurely lunch periods, and classes that wind up early" ("Study Finds Schools Waste Pupils' Time" 1981, p. 20A). The result, according to Goodlad, is that some elementary schools spend as little as 18.5 hours per week on instruction, while others spend as much as 27.5 hours. He also reported that some schools waste the final ten days of the school year, throwing away two of their 36 weeks.

The schools that devote more time to instruction use the day more efficiently, but they do not have longer hours, reported Goodlad: "They get down to business. A 15-minute recess lasts 15 minutes, not 30 minutes, and lunch is 30 minutes, not an hour. They don't spend the last half-hour of the day cleaning up, because they've found that it can be done in five or six minutes" ("Study Finds Schools . . ." 1981, p. 20A).

For social studies, the impact of the Goodlad findings is particularly significant. Both the school with the 18.5-hour week and the one with the 27.5-hour week spent roughly the same amount of time each day on reading and writing, 90 minutes, and on math, 54 or 55 minutes.

But the school that wasted time had only 23 minutes for social studies and 13 minutes for science, while the time-thrifty school offered a full hour of both social studies and science and had time left over for the arts ("Study Finds Schools . . ." 1981, p. 20A).

Discipline

Discipline is a word known to all teachers. Most agree that discipline is necessary to learning, but their definitions of "discipline" vary considerably. Discipline may be used narrowly to describe a teacher's behavior with a student who breaks a stated rule or requirement. It may also be used in a much broader sense to describe the whole process of "socialization," of preparing students to function effectively in the "school world," on the assumption that effective functioning there will lead to effective adult participation in other social institutions. Stake and Easley write in their case study findings:

> Putting it in a nutshell, most teachers seemed to treat subject matter knowledge as evidence of, and subject materials as a means to, the _socialization_ of the individual in school. Socialized discipline was the _lingua franca_ or "medium of exchange," within the school, transcending subject matter barriers (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:24).

No data were found on the amount of time that teachers devote to discipline--either in its narrow or broad senses. However, the national survey does provide some indication of how great a problem teachers perceive discipline to be. Interestingly, when compared with 17 other factors, maintaining discipline was considered by fewer than eight percent of social studies teachers as a "serious" problem. Fewer than a third considered it "somewhat a problem" (Table 2).

Table 2

PERCENT OF TEACHERS INDICATING THAT "DIFFICULTY IN MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE" IS A PROBLEM

	Percent of Teachers	
Grade Level	Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem
K-3	4%	18%
4-6	5%	20%
7-9	7%	28%
10-12	5%	29%

(Weiss 1978, p. B39)

When compared with the responses of science and math teachers, the survey data show that secondary social studies teachers rate discipline as less a problem than either their science or math colleagues.

The relatively minor importance assigned discipline by the respondents in the national survey seems to conflict with the increasing amount of attention given to violence in the schools in the past ten years. A possible explanation offered by the survey authors is that the question to which teachers responded in the survey related only to instruction in a specific subject area, not to school discipline in general.

Discipline is both an in-class chore and an out-of-class "extra duty." Out-of-class time which might better be spent giving help to students who need it is instead taken up with hall duties, laboratory duties, or "general surveillance duties," which require the teacher to wander here and there from one trouble spot to another, just in case . . . . At best, these duties give teachers an opportunity to chat with those who cause no trouble. At worst, they force teachers into a position unconducive to trust and respect among students, thus reducing their teaching effectiveness.

Preparation Time

Lack of preparation time is seen as a serious problem in elementary schools, somewhat less in secondary schools. More than half of K-6 teachers expressed a great need for more time built into their work day to plan instruction (Weiss 1978, p. B39). Their principals agreed with them (Weiss 1978, p. 161).

In secondary schools, where about a third expressed the same need, the number of subjects teachers teach varies considerably (Weiss 1978, p. B39). For some, the five-class load consists entirely of one subject, say American history. For others, it may be three classes of American history, one of economics, and one of anthropology. The amount of preparation time required varies with those differences in responsibilities, but those with more subjects to prepare for usually are not given extra preparation time.

Figures on out-of-school preparation time are not included in the data and are difficult to obtain. This time will become increasingly more important, however, as unions threaten and enforce the "work to rule" clause in contracts. Under that clause, teachers do nothing related to their jobs, including preparation, after the last bell rings. The effects of this refusal to instruct students after school or to take work home, may have drastic effects on what instruction becomes in the future.

Teaching

With the amount of time given to preparation, discipline, and administrivia, how much time do teachers have left for actual teaching? According to the teachers who responded in the RTI survey, social studies teachers in grades K-3 spend an average of 21 minutes per day on social studies. In grades 4-6 they spend 34 minutes (Weiss 1978, p. 51). Because these are averages, the figures include those teachers who "do" social studies in whatever time is left over after reading, math, and other things. They also include those who have a special interest in social studies and give it a high priority. The averages show time spent on social studies to be substantially less than time spent on math (half as much at K-3), but more than on science.

No figures are provided in the survey data on the average number of minutes spent at secondary levels in social studies classes, but class periods seem to range from 45 minutes to 55 minutes. The standard teaching load for junior and senior high social studies teachers is five classes in an eight-period day.

Another set of data collected by the national survey concerns the percentage of districts which specify a minimum number of minutes per day to be spent on particular subjects at the elementary grades. For social studies the range was from 13 percent of districts specifying amounts of time for kindergarten to about one-third specifying time for grades 5-6. The social studies percentages are about the same as for science, but somewhat less than for math. The average number of minutes specified by districts ranged from 15 minutes for kindergarten to 39 minutes for grade 6. The number of minutes for social studies is comparable to science but five to ten minutes less than for math (Weiss 1978, p. 22).

The survey also asked teachers to compare the amount of time they currently (1977) spend on math, science, and social studies as compared with three years ago. In all subject areas, the majority indicated that they spent about the same amount of time. About 15 percent of K-3 teachers felt they were giving less time to science and social studies, but about one-fourth felt they were giving more time. Even in math, teachers perceived themselves giving about the same amount of time now as in years past (Weiss 1978, p. B4).

Use of Instructional Technology, Strategies, and Practices

Having reviewed broadly the teaching arrangements and range of responsibilities of teachers, we now focus more specifically on the actual instructional procedures in classrooms--how do social studies teachers teach? A review of information on teacher's use of "technology" (printed materials and machinery) is followed by a discussion of both commonly- and less-commonly-used practices.

Use of Technology

If there is one common denominator of social studies classrooms throughout the nation, it is the centrality of curriculum materials in instruction. The Educational Products Information Exchange Institute (EPIE) reports that about 90 percent of classroom time, in both elementary and secondary schools, involves the use of curriculum materials. Most of this time (about two-thirds) is spent on commercially printed materials, mainly textbooks (EPIE 1977, pp. 5-6). A lesser amount of time is spent with teacher-prepared materials. In the initial EPIE survey, teachers reported that 30 percent of all the materials they used were locally produced, but a further breakdown showed that of this 30 percent, 52 percent were worksheets or exercises and another 27 percent were tests or progress evaluations (EPIE 1977, p. 8). It is in the production and use of these teacher-made materials that much of the use of educational machinery (ditto machines and overhead projectors in particular) occurs.

Printed Material. Summarizing their observations of classroom use of printed materials, particularly textbooks, Stake and Easley wrote:

> The teachers rely on, the teachers believe in, the textbook. Textbooks and other learning materials were not used to support teaching and learning, they were the instrument of teaching and learning. Learning was a matter of developing skills, of acquiring information. The guide and the source was the textbook (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:8).

This conclusion is typical of what was found to be true in most of the 11 school systems studied by Stake and Easley; their conclusions are supported by the results of the national survey, shown in Table 3.

Nearly all social studies teachers use at least one textbook. Even in grades K-3, where texts are found least often, two-thirds of the teachers use them. The predominance of the textbook increases from grade 4 to grade 12, where only one teacher in ten uses no textbook at all. About half of all social studies teachers, K-12, use a single published textbook or program; about a third use multiple texts (Weiss 1978, p. 89). Although size, region, wealth, and type of community seem to have little effect on the age of textbooks used, there is some indication that students in small schools are more likely than others to study from "old" texts (Weiss 1978, p. 93). Overall, about half the classes in the study were using books five or more years old (Weiss 1978, p. 94).

Teachers are heavily involved in the selection of the textbooks they use, either individually or through committees of their peers. Only three percent of the schools responding reported no individual teacher involvement (Weiss 1978, p. B24). Most teachers are satisfied with the text they are using. EPIE (1977) found 85 percent of teacher respondents believed that their textbooks are "for the most part well suited to most of their students." Seventy-one percent answered "Yes, willingly," to the question: Are you going to use this material again?

Table 3

PERCENT OF CLASSES USING NONE, ONE, TWO, AND THREE OR MORE TEXTBOOKS/PROGRAMS BY SUBJECT AND BY GRADE RANGE

Number of Textbooks/Programs Used	Mathematics					Science					Social Studies				
	K-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Total	K-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Total	K-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	Total
None	8	4	5	5	6	37	10	6	8	18	35	9	11	11	17
One	69	51	59	72	63	46	56	48	48	49	42	53	47	45	47
Two	14	21	19	17	18	13	22	25	29	21	7	20	19	22	16
Three or More	9	24	17	7	14	5	12	21	15	12	16	19	22	22	20
Sample N	297	277	550	548	1672	287	271	535	586	1679	254	281	453	490	1478

(Weiss 1978, p. 89)

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Teachers believe that their textbooks facilitate learning. Fifty-three percent reported that "most students learn somewhat well from the material." Thirty-seven percent agreed that "most of my students seem to learn exceptionally well from this material" (EPIE 1977, p. 23). Another recent national study (Klein, Tye, and Wright 1979) indicated that most teachers believe their materials are appropriate for about three-fourths of their students. About one-fourth of the social studies teachers in the RTI survey indicated they would prefer to use another text, while about one-half preferred the one they were currently using (Weiss 1978, p. 100).

While teachers like and use textbooks, their use of commercial printed supplementary materials is considerably less. EPIE's nationwide study reported that the largest number of respondents said they "neither have used, nor plan to use, any [supplementary materials]" (EPIE 1977, p. 8). In summarizing various research studies, Wiley suggests that only about a quarter of social studies teachers use a variety of materials to supplement the text (Wiley 1977, p. 70). Patrick and Hawke conclude that "in general, most teachers make slight use of various published supplementary materials."

The findings cited above on teachers' "use of" and "liking for" curriculum materials, particularly texts, have been corroborated in the Goodlad study of schooling in which students were asked their impressions of the use of materials and their preferences for materials. Around 90 percent of secondary and upper elementary students reported using textbooks. Among secondary students, 68 percent reported liking texts "very much" or "somewhat"; only 10 percent said they "very much disliked" them. Upper elementary students were only asked if they liked or disliked their books. Seventy percent liked them; 30 percent did not (Wright 1980).

While most teachers would probably agree with the teacher at a case study site who said, "almost every teacher needs a good set of materials from which to start social studies instruction" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 3:33), teachers' perceptions of the role of the textbook vary. To some it is a useful guide and support. To most of those observed in the 11 case study locations, the textbook is the instrument of teaching and learning, the authority, and in some cases, the course itself. While there is considerable diversity in the instructional devices chosen by teachers, the variance most often stems from the staging set by a textbook.

Thus, the nature of the textbook and its accompanying manual is not only relevant but critical to reaching conclusions about textbound teaching. The Patrick/Hawke paper on curriculum materials presents a detailed assessment of the content and instructional strategies in textbooks; the authors report the following generalizations about the widely used social studies textbooks of the past 20 years (see pp. 120-126): (1) most are surveys of particular information linked to curriculum patterns found across the United States; (2) they tend to be alike in format and style; textbooks in the same subject present similar information and interpretations; (3) they emphasize transmission of information; (4) they typically avoid controversial or sensitive topics; (5) their treatment of aspects of social science and history content is typically inadequate; (6) they are difficult to read; and (7) they are much more likely to include lessons in skill development at the elementary level than at the secondary level. Thus, the textbooks being used as the locus of instruction in social studies in the United States are not very innovative or perhaps even challenging.

But what about the 1960s new social studies movement, in which various federally supported projects around the country produced new, often inquiry-oriented, materials? What was their impact on instruction in social studies classrooms? Apparently little. According to the RTI survey, only one-quarter of the districts studied had used one or more of the federally funded social studies curriculum materials (Weiss 1978, p. 79). This percentage was somewhat higher than those using math materials, but lower than those using science materials. Even more disturbing are the data showing that nearly one-quarter of the district respondents (nonteachers) had never seen social studies project materials and only about four percent of them had seen more than 75 percent of the products. Clearly these people were not well equipped to advise teachers about the project materials (Weiss 1978, p. 79).

To say that the new social studies curriculum products had no impact on instruction because they were not used in the classroom may, however, be inaccurate. As Patrick and Hawke reported (see pp. 132-133), certain differences in current texts seem to stem from ideas and directives that came from the curriculum development projects. Most of these ideas are embodied in the teacher's materials that accompany the textbooks, for it is in these materials that instructional strategies or procedures are suggested; those strategies are important in determining whether the text is designed to be used in a conventional read-write approach, in an inquiry mode, or in an in-between approach.

Do teachers, in fact, use the manuals to ensure that the textbook is used as it was designed to be? In the RTI survey almost half (40 percent) of the teachers of grades 4-9 indicate that they do indeed make extensive use of manuals. Those at other grades do not (Weiss 1978, p. 97). Experience suggests that teachers at the high school level often have no manual to use. One may be sent to the department chairperson to be passed around among the staff, but personal copies are not typically available. Teachers at this level may not complain because they do not see manuals as very helpful anyway, preferring to devise their own strategies. Thus, regardless of how the textbook was designed to be used, the teacher places his or her own stamp of individuality on it by using it as best fits his or her teaching style.

The case studies provide the most immediate sense of how textbooks are used in the classroom. In summarizing the case study observations, Stake and Easley write:

> The source of knowledge authority in the classroom was not so much the teacher--it was the textbook. Teachers were prepared to intercede, to explain, but the direct confrontation with knowledge for most students was with printed information statements. Teachers did it differently from classroom to classroom, but regularly there was deference to the textbook, or lab manual, or encyclopedia, map or chart. Knowing was not so much a matter of experiencing even vicariously (self-knowledge perhaps was not to be trusted), but of being familiar with certain information or knowing how to produce the answers to questions that would be asked . . . To be sure, we saw a number of efforts to get students to learn for themselves, to acquire, to discover, to rely on their observation and reasoning powers, but the preponderance of teaching was to impart conclusions from a distant authority through the orderly presentation of the lesson materials (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:59).

Later in their report, Stake and Easley tie this use of the textbook as an authority source to teachers' felt responsibility to "socialize" students.

> We became alert to the fact that most teachers felt they had to use their instructional time and materials in order to socialize students into the social order . . . (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:11).

This need to socialize and the centrality of the textbook in socialization leads, according to Stake and Easley, to conflict when curricular and instructional reforms are proposed (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:11). In part it explains why inquiry and other proposed instructional changes have not gained wide acceptance. The function of socializing students into the social order (which includes preparation for the next grade level, college entrance exams, and so on) is best done when the textbook is used as a seldom-questioned source of authority and as the structuring force of classroom activity.

Machinery/Equipment/Instructional Aids. Although teachers rely heavily on printed materials to plan and implement their instruction, some machines influence what is done and how. Among those is the one commonly known as "the ditto machine." In the social studies classroom it has made the chalkboard almost obsolete. One reporter put it this way:

> The most reliable means of instruction was dependence on the spoken word of a teacher equipped with a ditto machine. Even a shortage of textbooks could be better controlled if one had a ditto machine, ditto fluid, and access to a thermofax machine (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 9:23).

Students in the Goodlad study of schooling also give evidence of the heavy use of worksheets. From the upper elementary grades through high school more than three-fourths of students reported using worksheets (Wright 1980).

When asked in the national survey what needed improvement in the way of supplies, one-third of the social studies teachers asked for a better supply of duplicating masters (Weiss 1978, p. B103). Little data is available on the content of the worksheets, but the EPIE survey indicated that most worksheets are review exercises or tests (EPIE 1977, p. 8).

Where the content for teacher-made worksheets comes from is unresearched. Some, maybe much, content is originated by the teacher. Some is undoubtedly taken from other sources. An indication of the extent of "borrowing" for worksheets was noted throughout the country when a more stringent copyright law was passed in 1978. The reaction of manty teachers was frequently "What am I going to do now?" or "Do you mean I have to throw out all of those great pass-outs I've been using?" There is little doubt that the duplicating machine is a boon to teaching social studies, but we know little of what comes from those machines or how the products are used.

Two other machines tend to permeate social studies instruction--the film projector and its relative, the filmstrip projector. Both are considered indispensable and used frequently by some teachers, although the film projector is often described by teachers as "a frustration, more bother than it's worth, in need of repair, or constantly breaking down in the middle of the film just when the real point is about to be made." The call for help to the audiovisual room is a frustrating but accepted part of the instructional process.

A study by the Agency for Instructional Television found that 60 percent of secondary social studies teachers use film at least once every two weeks (Fontana 1980, p. 54). Data collected in the RTI survey support these figures (Weiss 1978, p. 115).

Some critics would consider these figures dismaying, a sure proof of the lack of good teaching. Teachers themselves tend to decry the indiscriminate use of films by their colleagues. They refer to it in a most uncomplimentary way as "hanging out the marquee," a technique few want to acknowledge as their own. However, observers having a different orientation might conclude that use of films is evidence of a teacher's good judgment of how today's students learn best, through visuals. Data to support either of those judgments, the "how" of the use of visuals, are lacking.

According to the RTI data, the overhead projector is the next most commonly used instructional aid, employed by almost half of the teachers at least once a month (Weiss 1978, p. 115). This figure might have more meaning if we knew the availability of that equipment in the school. Some schools pride themselves on having an overhead machine in every social studies room; others have one to a building; some have none. Again, we have no indication of how this machine is used in instruction.

Ditto machines, projectors, and overheads have been available in schools for quite some time. They are staples and they are used. Teachers do not, however, make use of the more sophisticated and recent machines available. They seldom use records or tape recorders, and one out of two sees no need for the film loop, television set, or videotape recorder/player. The 1978 Weiss report showed almost none using computers (Weiss 1978, pp. 115, B31).

The dramatic difference in the use of "old" and "new" technology is made clear in the AIT study. Among the teachers surveyed, only 3.1 percent had never used film for instruction, but 30 percent had never used television. Only 20 percent used television at least once every two weeks--while 60 percent used film in a two-week period. Yet teachers' (and administrators') attitudes about the value of television in the classroom were positive. More than 50 percent agreed that it had great possibilities (Fontana 1980, p. 54). One possible explanation lies in the finding that although 91 percent of secondary teachers had access to videotape recorders for recording television programs, only 17 percent had been trained to use the equipment (Fontana 1980, p. 58).

Similarly the computer is not a technological innovation toward which social studies teachers are gravitating, although important changes may have occurred in the years since the studies reported here were done. In the RTI study more than three-quarters of K-12 social studies teachers said computers were "not needed" for their instruction (Weiss 1978, p. B31). A recent National Council for the Social Studies report on computers in social studies classrooms stated that while 74 percent of 974 districts surveyed reported using computers for instructional purposes, social studies courses made far less use than mathematics, natural sciences, business, and language arts courses (Diem 1981, p. 1). The author suggests that one explanation is social studies teachers' lack of training in the use of computers. He reports on a 1976 study of teachers in which only 6.8 percent of a sample of 175 colleges of education offered a comprehensive program in computer education (Diem 1981, p. 5). He concludes, "More social studies educators must acquire both basic computer skills and the ability to author lessons for use on the computer. We have a tool that can be an aid to our teaching--if we learn to use it" (Diem 1981, p. 6).

On the whole, social studies teachers seem to be relatively content with the equipment and instructional aids available to them. At all grade levels, more than 60 percent rated the availability of nonconsumable equipment as "very good" or "satisfactory" (Weiss 1978, p. B33). We are left with the impression of social studies instruction which centers on the textbook, ditto sheets (supplemented by overhead transparencies), and films/filmstrips. The level of satisfaction with this situation is high among both teachers and their students. The tried and true materials and machinery work and little need for change is felt--or accepted.

Most-Common Instructional Practices

Both the RTI survey and Goodlad's research explored the question of how teachers teach. From these resources data emerge to show the predominance of three instructional strategies and a smattering of other practices.

Lecture. In the RTI survey teachers were asked to describe the frequency with which they used various instructional activities. The most frequently used strategy is one labeled "lecture" in the survey. Although not defined in the survey, it is unlikely that teachers interpreted the word lecture in the collegiate sense, i.e., teacher exposition with little or no opportunity for student questions or challenges. Instead it is likely that the word was interpreted in the sense of teacher "talk and demonstration," the terminology used in the Goodlad research.

Teachers reported using "lecture" frequently from the earliest grades through senior high, its frequency rising sharply from kindergarten to grade 12. Even in grades K-3 almost half the teachers lecture "daily" to "at least once a week" and one out of five lectures daily. Only 27 percent of K-3 teachers reported never using the technique (Weiss 1978, p. B64).

Dependence on lecturing increases steadily through the upper grades. More than a third of 4-6 teachers lecture at least once a week; a quarter lecture daily. In the junior high more than half lecture at least once a week, a fifth daily. At the high school the daily use rises to a third of the teachers. About two-thirds of social studies students listen to a lecture at least once a week; a quarter of them daily (Weiss 1978, p. B65-67). In the Goodlad study, students were asked to report on the instructional strategies they experienced. Ninety-three percent of upper elementary students reported use of lecture in their classes; the figure rose to 94 percent among secondary students (Wright 1980).

There is no evidence to explain exactly why the lecture is used, how it is used, or how effective it is. Teachers offer various rationales: efficient use of time, the need for teacher interpretation, "crowd control," intellectual inspiration, development of listening and note-taking skills, explanation, and concept reinforcement, among others. In some cases, as one teacher noted, lecturing is a way of getting around the reading problem:

> In my class I have to lecture. Most of my students don't know how to read or they are reading well below grade level. Consequently, I have to resort to lecturing (they can listen) and using worksheets (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:33).

The use of the lecture may also have to do with the constant need to maintain order. The teacher may feel that when students are required to listen, take notes, and get ready for a test, chances for disruption and "goofing off" are lessened. In some instances this tactic may work; in others it seems to heighten rather than lessen the problem, as this comment from a case study reporter indicates:

> . . . instruction appears to cover the full gamut of approaches and methodologies. Some teachers are very didactic in their approach; others are very open and laissez-faire . . . Those teachers who opt for the straight lecture-discussion method appear to have less respect from the students. Similarly, they are the ones who have the most discipline problems, particularly from the ethnic minorities (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:19).

At its worst, the lecture is a crutch for the teacher and a bore for the student:

> Probably U.S. History is the worst class I ever took. I learned something but I didn't enjoy it . . . He lectured for the first nine weeks right from the book, and he acted like he hadn't heard about the things he was teaching about (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:50).

At its best, the lecture can be exciting and inspirational. Talented lecturers can incite students to think on grand scales, to set their sights on higher goals, or move them to use their intellectual talents. Such social studies teachers do exist and their students attest to the success of their strategies.

The Goodlad study provides some evidence that the majority of students like lecture or "teacher talk"; 75 percent of the upper elementary students surveyed liked the practice "very much" or "somewhat" as did 80 percent of their secondary counterparts. Fewer than 15 percent of the secondary students said they "dislike very much" teacher talk (Wright 1980).

Because the so-called lecture is cited by teachers as one of their most commonly used instructional practices and because students seem to like the practice, much more needs to be known about what lecture entails. We need to clarify whether it means that the teacher is verbally filling in a matrix of Renaissance artists and their paintings, or extending a major concept. Do most students truly learn best from lecture or is it just easier than active participation?

Discussion/Recitation. Rivaling lecture as the most frequently used instructional practice is discussion. Again, the data do not tell us exactly what discussion means to teachers who report using it frequently in their classes. Does the term indicate a true exchange of ideas or simply recitation with the teacher asking the questions and the students giving the answers?

Whatever its meaning, discussion is a popular strategy. More than half the K-3 teachers in the RTI survey and two-thirds of 4-12 teachers reported holding discussions on a daily basis (Weiss 1978, p. B64-67). In the Goodlad study of upper elementary and secondary students, about 80 percent reported that they experienced the practice in their social studies classes (Wright 1980).

How do students feel about class discussion? In the Goodlad research, about 60 percent of upper elementary students said they like the practice; the percentage rose among secondary students. At the high school level 85 percent of students said they like discussion "very much" or "somewhat." Only four percent said they disliked it "very much."

From the case studies, it appears that the kind of class discussion students most enjoy is that which allows them to express their opinions:

> He's cool! He's not stuffy like some of the others. He lets you talk and likes to get discussions going in class . . . He gives you work to do but it's fun . . . (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:19).

or:

> He's neat! We get to talk about what's happening in the world (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 7:19).

All teachers do not, however, have the ability to lead a discussion that results in solid learning. Evidence of the infrequency of true discussion is found in research on the levels of questions asked by teachers. Almost all questions are at the memory, translation, or interpretation level. The intellectual atmosphere of classroom interaction has been described as "meager."

In a dissertation study, Rappaport investigated the types and rates of questions asked by teachers and students to determine whether the findings of previous research would be replicated. Analysis of the data showed that observed teachers asked approximately ten questions to every student question. The majority were definitional questions of isolated fact and noninstructional, managerial content. Fewer than five percent were concerned with the content of established principles, theories, or concepts. Fewer than 20 percent of all teacher questions and fewer than 10 percent of all student questions involved application, comparison or contrast, analysis or synthesis, or evaluation. Students tended to use questions that had a high probability of verbal approval by the teacher. Moreover, teachers gave little reinforcement to student questioning (Rappaport 1978, p. 91).

Any conclusions to be drawn from the information we have on discussion and classroom questions must recognize the differences among students with whom teachers work. Discussion seems to work best in those classes having students who are eager to use their mental abilities. These are the classes in which many teachers expend their best efforts and are most successful. With some students and classes, discussions simply cannot get off the ground.

Individual Assignments. In addition to listening to their teachers and participating in class discussion, students spend a great deal of time completing individual assignments--most often, writing answers to questions. In the Goodlad study "writing answers to questions" was cited by students second most frequently, with more than 87 percent of upper elementary and secondary students participating in this activity (Wright 1980). About 55 percent of the students find this an agreeable activity (Wright 1980).

Some of these assignments are completed in class, usually following a teacher lecture or class discussion. Other assignments are the basis of homework. In part, individual assignments are used to enable students to learn new information. They also serve to reinforce previous learning and/or give additional practice in skill development. A third function is to help the teacher assess student learning. In reporting on how teachers learn about student learning, Stake and Easley write, "one way teachers learned about how much and how well their students were learning was through homework" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:14).

Less-Common Instructional Practices

Inquiry/Discovery Learning. In the 1960s the "new social studies" movement, much touted by academics and heavily supported by federal funding, attempted to engage teachers in the use of inquiry or inductive teaching methods. The RTI survey, the case studies, and the literature review provide evidence of the extent to which this instructional practice is used some 15 years after the major effort to establish it in classrooms across the nation. To the question "How common is it for teachers in your school(s) to try to teach the scientific analysis of social problems?" only 5 percent of junior high social studies teachers and 20 percent of senior high social studies teachers responded "quite common" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:39). Strategies and techniques used by social studies teachers at the secondary level are not commonly derived from the inquiry-oriented, scientific approaches used by social scientists. This finding supports earlier reports on the limited use of new social studies materials in schools (Wiley 1977, pp. 313, 319).

In the Stake and Easley survey 66 percent of the respondents agreed with the statement, "The general public does not put high priority on teaching social studies in a way that emphasizes a scientific approach to studying social issues" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:31). As one site reporter observed (of math, science, and social studies teachers):

> The qualities of the grand thinker, relativistic and speculative, were only occasionally acknowledged by teachers to be worth emulating, and often--removed from association with science or grand thinking--were ridiculed (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:27).

There is little evidence of teachers involving students in inquiry experiences:

> One of the more important findings of this case study project was that, despite considerable contact with legacies of the NSF-sponsored curriculum projects and with inservice programs dedicated to the promotion of student inquiry, very little inquiry teaching was occurring in science, math and social studies in the eleven sites. Problems were worked by students, following the example set by the teacher. Lessons typically were organized by teachers around printed or dittoed materials. Problems were worked by the students, following the example set by the teacher, who helped out when an obstacle was met, but who gave little encouragement to go beyond the problem or to question an implication (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:4).

A major conclusion drawn by site researchers is that teachers do not tend to be natural inquirers themselves. They give small place in their teaching strategies to the development of systematic modes of reasoning. Where such practice is found, it may be more a part of the teacher's nature than the result of recent trends and curriculum development.

Social studies teachers are about equally divided on their need for assistance in implementing inquiry/discovery approaches, with 41 percent stating that they do not need help and 46 percent stating that they do (Weiss 1978, p. B113). A district coordinator empathized with teachers:

> Teachers are experiencing difficulty with the inquiry approach . . . and we simply don't realize what it means when we suggest to an instructor that she needs to change her classroom practices (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 10:10).

But it is not simply a matter of changing habits. Many teachers have serious reservations about the efficacy of inquiry strategies as teaching techniques for their students. They tend to see those strategies as likely to work with only the most able students, who have acquired not only the intellectual abilities and skills but also the work habits and discipline required. With students lacking those characteristics, inquiry methods, teachers feel, are bound to fail (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:7). In addition, these teachers express concerns about the excessive amount of time required by properly developed inquiry strategies, the frustration heaped on students who cannot deal with the tasks, and perhaps most important, their basic disagreement with proponents of inquiry teaching as an appropriate method for all students. Recent findings seem to indicate that these teachers have been accurate in some of their judgments (Wiley 1977, pp. 302-312).

Values Education. Following on the heels of the "new social studies" movement was the emphasis in the late 1960s and early 1970s on values education. Although a rather amorphous idea taking different instructional forms, the general intent was to help students clarify their own and others' value positions. The case study research provides the most insight into the use of values education in social studies classes.

The observations of the case study reporters indicate that the most pervasive reason for not using some form of values education is the fear (real or imagined) of negative reaction from the community. Teachers and administrators worry that encouragement of questioning can stimulate controversies, which may not be wise. It is safer, most believe, to stick with the facts and leave values clarification to those colleagues who wish to take the gamble.

> If you mention certain things to certain students it goes home and the school board gets calls about it: "Why are you teaching my child about sex?" or "Why are you telling my child about this particular church?" You learn to deal with this by learning that this is not what the community wants so we don't do it. They are paying you your salary with their money, so basically they have the right to a degree to keep certain things out of the school that they strongly agree should not be there (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 1:53).

As a result, where teaching in the area of values does exist, it is more apt to be inculcation than clarification. Even this is not common. Teachers simply stay away from the issue (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:5). Because of this stance, handling of controversial issues, including values, is apparently not a major problem in the social studies.

There is, however, some evidence to suggest that social studies teachers actually have more freedom in dealing with controversial issues than they realize and use. Responses in the Stake and Easley survey from 150 secondary social studies teachers and from 300 seniors and their parents revealed the following:

> Although most did not indicate a need for change in emphasis on values in the classroom, those who did asked for more emphasis rather than less. More than one of three parents showed a preference for greater emphasis (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:36).

Approximately 65 percent of parents felt that teachers should express their own feelings but present alternative views too. One in four parents felt that teachers should keep their biases to themselves (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 12:39).

One would certainly expect to find social studies teachers handling controversial issues, encouraging their students to examine alternative reviews. This is not usually the case, however.

Community/Experience-Based Instruction. At no grade level is there frequent use of the field trip as an instructional practice. The highest usage appears to be among K-3 teachers, with 18 percent reporting that they take a field trip at least once a month, 53 percent saying they take some trips, and only 19 percent saying they never go on field trips. After third grade the use of field trips drops continuously through 12th grade (Weiss 1978, p. B64). Only 13 percent of senior high students in Goodlad's study reported being involved in a field trip, compared with 51 percent of upper elementary students (Wright 1980). However, the RTI survey suggests that such trips are infrequent, even in middle schools. Fewer than five percent of grade 4-9 teachers in that study reported taking field trips "at least once a month" (Weiss 1978, p. B65-66).

Numerous reasons are given for the infrequent use of field trips and the decline in frequency from early to later grades: the increasing pressure of what some teachers call the 3 C's--course, content, and coverage; the problems of supervising large groups of students; disapproval of teachers in other disciplines, who resent their students "missing class"; and lack of funds. One junior high social studies teacher who ranked field trips high on his list of priorities but was denied their use had this complaint:

> . . . if you want to know what is really important look at the instructional budgets. What's important is athletics. They can ship kids by the busloads to games, to contests, matches, whatever, because _their_ instruction is important. We (in social studies) cannot take advantage of an opportunity when it pops up. When we ask for _a_ trip for _a_ class of students, the answer is no (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:31).

Although the NSF site researchers did find examples of concerted, well-planned experience-based instruction, it was rare; where it did exist, it did not have the support of most teachers. In one case, where the entire community became the classroom, teachers failed to adapt their techniques to fit the situation, failed to use the rich resources available, and were most comfortable on those days when the classroom again became the milieu in which they worked. As the site reporter described it, ". . . we saw that the School With Schools was the most effective component of the School Without Schools Program" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 8:13). Even in that "open" instructional arrangement, where social integration was seen as a beneficial outcome and where self-motivated students flourished, teachers rated classroom days as the most efficient and effective. There, too, lecture, discussion, and worksheets were the common modes of instruction.

Although they are perhaps in the minority, many teachers do see these kinds of experiences as crucial in social studies; their students flourish. Coordinated and carefully planned, interdisciplinary use of museums, nature centers, historical sites, government agencies, and the like excite not only students, but also their teachers. One teacher expressed the feeling in terms of teacher-student relationships conducive to teaching and learning:

> The experience I have had in the past of working a lot outside school has shown me that you can have quite a different kind of relationship with students once you get them out of the school building (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 11:15).

The work of Fred Newmann (1975) and others indicates the many possibilities offered by experience-based instruction. For example, internships in a multitude of government and civic agencies, performed by serious students who want to combine the knowledge of the past with the urgency to live the present in a productive way, have become common in many schools and many social studies programs. In these internship programs, social studies students throughout the country are combining service with learning, in the most practical and powerful way--on the job. In some cases they are earning social studies credits toward graduation; in others, they are simply becoming involved in applying what they have already learned in order to learn more.

Unit or Course Projects. Social studies students are apt to be involved in a project or the preparation of a report at least once a month, except in grades K-3, where projects and reports are used about half as often (25 percent of teachers there never use them) (Weiss 1978, p. B64-67).

Simulations. Simulations, including role plays, debates, and panels, are used by most teachers less than once a month, with one in five teachers indicating that they are never used (Weiss 1978, p. B64-67). At least two of the site researchers were not overly impressed with the use of these techniques in the few cases observed. One researcher commented in describing a class:

> What follows is a simulation in which the students are divided into teams of colonists and English and asked to debate and then decide whether to go to war. Unencumbered by facts or understanding and unchecked by Mrs. Harrison, the students' debate quickly assumes the tenor of a parent-child confrontation (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:19).

Modules, LAPs, and Programmed Instruction. Fewer than three out of ten social studies teachers ever use a form of programmed instruction; most of those reported usage once a month or less (Weiss 1978, p. 104).

Where "packages" are found, they are usually a part of a school-wide effort to implement an objective-based curriculum. While some teachers find packages to be a boon for students who lack self-direction, others find them uncreative, restricting teachers' ability to switch approaches as the need arises or to take advantage of the "teachable moment." Some complain that such instruction is anti-social, placing students in isolation, away from the social interaction that should be a major characteristic of social studies teaching and learning. Proponents of these techniques criticize the way teachers use packages, not the packages themselves.

Contract Learning. The use of contracts is not common in social studies at any grade level. When asked to rank 16 instructional techniques according to their frequency of use, teachers placed contracts next to the bottom, just slightly ahead of computers (Weiss 1978, p. 104).

Examination of all the data on instructional practices clearly indicates that social studies instruction at all grade levels is dominated by teacher talk, class discussion, and individual question answering. Most of this activity is tied to textbooks and "dittos." The numerous other instructional techniques considered appropriate for social studies instruction are used relatively infrequently. Moreover, instructional practices appear to become less varied as students progress through the grades. What might be a rich, multifaceted learning experience is instead, for most students, repetitious and textbook-bound.

Evaluation Practices

Whatever instructional techniques teachers use to convey new information and build understandings among students, most teachers regard some sort of evaluation of student progress as essential. Evaluation is used both to allow the teacher to assess student progress and to allow the students to evaluate themselves. Studies indicate that teachers have very limited expertise in the field of evaluation. Their techniques tend to be confined to objective and essay tests, class discussions, and student papers, all based on content objectives (Wiley 1977, pp. 78-79). The RTI survey and Goodlad's research give us further indications of how prevalent evaluation is and what techniques of evaluation are most commonly practiced.

Teacher-Made Tests. According to RTI data, taking a test or quiz (generally teacher-made) is an activity in which students frequently engage. After lecture and class discussion, it is the most frequent activity, with 44 percent of teachers giving a test at least once a week (Weiss 1978, p. 104). Forty percent of K-3 teachers never use tests, but that figure drops drastically in grades 4-6, where only four percent never use them. More than half of secondary teachers test in some form at least once a week (Weiss 1978, p. B64-67). Ninety-five percent of secondary students in the Goodlad study reported having tests; about half said they liked the tests and the other half said they disliked them (Wright 1980).

Summarizing the findings of the 11 case study reporters, Stake and Easley write of teacher-made tests:

> Most of the tests used in the classroom--as opposed to workbooks and exercise sheets--were developed by the teacher, often using questions from another test or from the textbook or teacher guide that accompanied the textbook. These teacher-made tests were much more closely attuned to what actually occurred in class and as part of the laboratory work or homework than district's objectives-based tests, the publishers tests, the criterion-referenced tests or standardized tests--and to be sure, there were very few of these more formal instruments to be seen in any of the schools (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:15).

Frequent testing is seen as an important way of teaching and making certain that students have learned. It is also viewed as a good way to accomplish one of the major goals of teaching--the socialization of students. Of testing and socialization, Stake and Easley write:

> Although formal testing did not seem to satisfy much of the teacher's need for knowing what the student knew, testing did seem to assist in socializing students and maintaining control over them. . . [T]esting was an important means of socialization and control. Testing was relied on to motivate the students. The information provided by tests seemed mainly used in the justification of past decisions and the allocation of further opportunity (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:23).

Since the major sources of content covered on tests are the textbook and the teacher, students know fairly well how to prepare:

> Before a test, I look into the chapter, flick through the headings. You have to read the class notes because you couldn't pass the tests otherwise (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:49).

The following episode, reported from a sociology class, speaks to a number of subjects in addition to testing procedures:

> T: We're going to have a test on Tuesday. You'll need to study very hard for it. All the terms in the chapter will be on the test. You should know something about them from class. (There is much student talking. Some of it is boisterous. Mrs. F. remains perfectly calm.) Leaf through chapters three, four, and five. See if you have any questions. This will amount to a unit test. Our next unit is on the group and the individual. I plan to hand out another text and we'll use two of them together. We'll find examples in one not in the other. It'll be of great interest to you.
>
> S: So we need to know all the words? There's about a hundred of them.
>
> T: Part of your problem may be that you're not attentive in class.
>
> S: How're we supposed to memorize fifty definitions?
>
> T: It'll be an objective test so you'll be able to use recognition.
>
> (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:46)

Recitation, Homework, and Exercise Sheets. Although teacher-made tests represent the most common "formal" means of student testing, student evaluation is commonly done during recitation periods. Stake and Easley write in their summary of findings from the case studies: [W]hat has been the dominant form of testing over the last fifty years is recitation, an informal kind of testing rather than examination, a more formal kind (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:14). They continue by quoting from Hoetker and Ahlbrand's classical review of classroom questioning:

> The studies that have been reviewed show a remarkable stability of classroom verbal behavior patterns over the last half century, despite the fact that each successive generation of educational thinkers, no matter how else

> they differed, has condemned the rapid-fire, questions-answer pattern of instruction. This opens a number of interesting avenues of inquiry. What is there about the recitation, for instance, that makes it so singularly successful in the evolutionary struggle with other, more highly recommended, methods? That is, what survival needs of teachers are met uniquely by the recitation? (quoted in Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:14).

Other evaluation procedures commonly used by teachers are homework assignments and exercise sheets. The data do not allow determination of how much of recitation, homework, and worksheets involves "teaching" and how much involves "evaluation." The case studies appear to indicate that the various instructional/evaluational procedures blend together in teachers' assessment of students' progress. Stake and Easley conclude:

> The results . . . from tests usually paralleled the results . . . from recitation and other interactional forms of quizzing. Student learning was teased out in various ways, even as indirectly as quietly listening to students plan a project or help each other with an assignment. It was not unusual to find that the same students who raised their hands first, helped other students most often, [and] had the most detailed answers in recitation also made the highest marks on the examinations (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:16).

Assigning Grades. As we have noted, the frequency with which tests are administered increases rapidly after sixth grade, with the increasing use of competition as one moves from kindergarten to grade 12. Students may be graded on a number of things--knowledge, attitudes, performance--which may or may not be a result of social studies teaching. With the recent emphasis on "basics" and "competency," social promotion, if not disappearing, is at least coming under scrutiny. "You get what you earn" is becoming more and more the bottom line in grading. This is particularly important in light of parents' concern about grades.

Contrary to what students may traditionally believe, grading is probably not a task that social studies teachers relish. Many regard it as the most unpleasant and disturbing part of their job. It is common to hear teachers say, "I love to teach but I hate to give grades!" This reflects their dedication to their students, their desire to do the "right" thing for each of their charges, and their fear of doing damage with the stroke of the pen. Few look forward to the end of a marking period, when each student must be evaluated with a cold letter or number.

Even the leaway of S for satisfactory, C for commendable, and U for unsatisfactory, or the more open-ended "needs improvement," provides little comfort for the social studies teacher trained to be sensitive to cause and effect in human behavior.

Standardized Tests. Standardized tests are used more frequently in grades K-6 than in grades 7-12; in the RTI survey half of the school districts used the tests in K-6 classes and only a third of the districts in 7-12 classes (Weiss 1978, p. 27). The major use made of standardized tests at all grade levels is to report the results to teachers, although this is done much more frequently in the elementary school than in the high school (Weiss 1978, p. 30). The elementary school also makes greater use of the test results in reporting to parents (Weiss 1978, p. 30).

More than half of the elementary schools reported using standardized test results in social studies to report to individual teachers, report to parents, place students in remedial classes, and revise curriculum. Almost as many use the results to place students in classes for the gifted or to diagnose and prescribe for individual students. In secondary schools the results for social studies are used by more than half of the schools to report to teachers. Almost half report to parents. Other uses are infrequent (Weiss 1978, p. 30).

Summarizing the case study findings related to standardized testing, Stake and Easley wrote:

> Teachers, administrators and others at several of the sites were dismayed at the amount of time scheduled by the district to be spent testing for one purpose or another (in addition to the testing of various kinds already being done by the teachers and counselors for their purposes) . . . Nevertheless, teachers did not appear to have much taste for the information tests could provide about individual student problems or problems with their own teaching. This was consistent with reports of Hotvedt and Hastings et al., who found teachers did not value the information provided by tests as highly as the judgment they could make based on their own observations in the classroom. Scheyer concluded that teachers make little use of test results in making instructional decisions. "Teachers see children in greater complexity than tests can measure," Scheyer noted. It appeared that, like grades, standardized tests

> provided little specific information to help the teacher make instructional decisions (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:21).

In 1978, only 22 percent of the states were planning to administer basic competency programs in social studies, with dates for these tests either undetermined or only projected into the future (Weiss 1978, p. 31). This number, however, exceeds those states planning competency testing in science by almost 10 percent.

The need for evaluation is recognized by nearly all persons involved in education as well as by the public. How evaluation should be conducted, reported, and used is not always agreed upon, however. For many years, measurement specialists have promoted the importance of test validity, test reliability, time analysis, and differences among types of tests. Most teachers have had courses in educational testing, but the technical aspects of testing do not particularly concern teachers (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:13).

What is reflected in teachers' methods of evaluation are their primary concerns, as described and summarized by Stake and Easley in this paragraph:

> Although formal testing did not seem to satisfy much of the teacher's need for knowing what the student knew, testing did seem to assist in socializing students and maintaining control over them. In VORTEX the pedagogy was more formal than in the other sites; there, except in the one middle school and the individualized remedial reading program, both of which, incidentally, were controversial, testing was limited to a few teacher-made tests each grading period. In places where instruction was less formal, perhaps because of declining student interest, testing was an important means of socialization and control. Testing was relied on to motivate the students. The information provided by tests seemed mainly used in the justification of past decisions and the allocation of further opportunity (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 15:23).

Thus, much evaluation, like other instructional practices, is dominated by a narrow range of strategies and is heavily laced with the ever-present goal of socialization. A more detailed examination of evaluation in social studies instruction is provided by Kurfman in another Project SPAN report (Kurfman 1982).

Factors Influencing Teachers' Choices of Instructional Practices

> "I've changed what I teach, but not how I teach" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 4:23).

That comment by a single social studies teacher in one school in one community, in one conversation with one researcher, probably expresses the feeling of most teachers about change. Viewing the scene on a grand scale, there has been little change in instructional practices over the years. Teachers of social studies continue to teach as they have always taught, probably as they themselves were taught. They are guarded, skeptical, and cautious toward change.

In the eyes of social studies teachers, innovations come and go with regularity; technology produces more and more machines to master and tame; ideas flow freely from educators isolated from the day-to-day reality of the classroom; directives come down from someone in an office somewhere--all suggesting what should be done in the classroom. But teachers, through it all, sense that they will continue to be the ones who decide to accept or reject, to encourage or block, or simply to tolerate. They are the ones who adopt some ideas as genuinely helpful and reject others as "just one more gimmick that goes nowhere." True to their identity, they reserve judgment and the decision to change what they do until convinced that the change offers a real opportunity for improvement.

If reform efforts do not influence teachers' choices of which instructional practices to employ, what does? The following discussion examines some factors which seem to persuade teachers, some which are designed to persuade but do not, and some which seem to restrain teachers' choices.

Personal Competence and Beliefs

Personal Beliefs. Probably the most powerful of all influences on a teacher's choice of instructional practices is self-imposed by the nature of the teacher as an individual. Teachers draw and depend on their personal strengths, selecting those activities with which they feel most comfortable and effective. In addition, decisions that social studies teachers make about how to teach are based on what they feel is best for the students they have and on how these students will learn most efficiently. Pointing out that personal beliefs were in large part responsible for teachers' lack of support for curriculum reform efforts, Stake and Easley wrote:

> What we learned from many of our direct interactions with teachers in this study was that they were not just taking a "sour grapes" attitude about curriculum improvement. They were not cool toward innovation just because they were not the ones invited early to participate in curriculum development programs or institutes. They had been telling anyone who would listen that they know what will work in their classrooms, and what will not, and that they know that most of the heralded innovations will only work in exceptional situations (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:1).

But upon what are personal beliefs about effective strategies based?

Preservice Education. Preservice education seems a likely source of teachers' personal beliefs about instructional effectiveness. About a third of teachers at grades 4-12, and a somewhat higher proportion at grades K-3, consider their college courses to have been "very useful" sources of information. About one-half of teachers at all grade levels consider the courses to have been at least "somewhat useful" (Weiss 1978, p. B118). However, it is unclear from the survey data whether teachers related usefulness to learning of subject matter or learning of instructional strategies.

Conclusions drawn by Shaver, Helburn, and Davis about the generally discordant relationship between classroom teachers and university subject matter specialists (Shaver, Helburn, and Davis 1979, pp. 14-15) suggest that the usefulness teachers ascribe to preservice education must come from subject matter, not instructional learning. Comments from teachers often suggest that their preservice courses emphasized the "theoretical" while the classroom demands the "practical."

On-the-Job Learning. In their findings, Stake and Easley wrote:

> Our observers found the teachers engaged in occasional staff meetings, a diminished program of inservice training, and some continued enrollment in university courses.

> Some districts were increasing the formal obligation of teachers to be explicit about their professional growth goals for the year, but even there the continuing professional education activities were meager (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:48).

The RTI survey indicated that among the social studies teachers reporting, less than one-fourth said "inadequate preparation to teach" a subject was a "serious" or even "somewhat a problem" (Weiss 1978, pp. B129-130). In addition, inservice training was not considered very useful by most. By grade level, K-3 teachers were the most positive toward local inservice, with 44 percent rating inservice as "very useful." That percentage declined to 14 percent for 10-12 teachers (Weiss 1978, p. B119).

Some of teachers' attitudes toward inservice may depend on the planning procedures used. Where teachers are involved in the selection of inservice courses in the school, the courses are well accepted, most often dealing with day-to-day needs. Such subjects as grading, discipline, questioning strategies, reading, writing, map and globe skills, and inquiry/discovery teaching are viewed as helpful and are most in demand. Others, chosen by "someone in the front office," are in danger of being labeled "coercive," "a put-on," or "the first indication that we're headed toward a new fad."

The National Science Foundation institutes of the 1960s and 1970s were a large-scale attempt to change teachers' methods of teaching science, including social studies. Yet little use of the inquiry methods demonstrated in those institutes is evident in social studies instruction today. A finding from the national survey suggests one reason: fewer than six percent of the social studies teachers surveyed had ever attended an NSF institute (Weiss 1978, p. 69). Although there are no statistical data in the NSF studies on the impact of those institutes on the teachers who did attend, teacher statements made to Stake and Easley interviewers were mixed. One teacher commented:

> The NSF institutes that I attended were well worth all the money. I'm sure that if I had not attended these institutes I would not have been able to do as good a job as I have done (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:52).

But another teacher said:

> I believe I was lied to at those institutes. The techniques never did work out right back home. Wisconsin and Kentucky teachers said the same thing to me. It isn't the same back home. The deck was stacked somewhere, teachers looked like they were doing things with the kids that they weren't maybe (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:52).

While on-the-job training seems to be diminishing with decreasing budgets and fewer local specialists, the national survey found that 40 to 50 percent of social studies teachers said that they do not receive adequate assistance in learning new teaching methods (Weiss 1978, p. B107, 110, 113, 116). Thus it appears that a substantial number of teachers are interested in improving their teaching methods; inservice training does not seem to be meeting those needs.

At their best, inservice courses are seen by teachers as a means of improving instruction. At their worst, such courses are just one more intrusion on the limited time available to plan for the next day or week or unit, one more diversion from matters that really count.

Administrative Influences. Because teachers are employees of a school district, one might reasonably expect at least some of their choices of instructional methods to depend on the wishes, stated or unstated, of the school district board and administration. The observations of the Stake and Easley site observers suggest that very often classroom teachers and administrators are isolated from each other; as a consequence, teachers do not see superintendents and district personnel as "informed" or sufficiently "concerned about conditions in the classroom" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:16). Nevertheless, certain expectations are set by these "inadequately informed" administrators and "most teachers led us [site observers] to infer that they felt powerless to take action that would challenge the boundaries" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:17).

The other side of the coin is that for the most part these administrative boundaries do not impinge much on the teacher in his or her own classroom: "At most sites the teacher had a great deal of leeway as to what would be covered in the course of study and as to how time would be spent in class . . ." (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 19:17). Thus, administrative restraints and expectations are set, but the sanctity of the classroom is largely protected and teachers do not feel greatly constrained.

One fairly recent "movement" which appears to be harmoniously engaged in by administrators and teachers is the effort to define educational objectives more clearly through statements of behavioral objectives. Stake and Easley found the movement "apparent in all 11 CSSE sites, and from questionnaire returns from all 50 states" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 14:23). The surprise for the authors was not that school systems were engaged in the writing of objectives, but that there was so much support for the endeavor by teachers as well as administrators:

> . . . we were surprised that so many espoused these lists of common goals and urged a greater uniformity of instruction. Of course, it does not mean that they really want uniformity, perhaps only less diversity than they see around them now. Nor did they apparently mean they want uniform standards when they said they wanted more uniform standards (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 14:24).

One purpose of developing behavioral objectives is to give greater coherence to a school's total educational program. In the RTI survey, there was a clear difference in the seriousness attached by various persons in the educational system to "lack of articulation of instruction across grade levels." State social studies supervisors rated this lack as the most serious of 18 listed problems. Principals and district supervisors rated it high on the list of serious problems, though not as high as state supervisors. Averaged across grade levels, around half of teachers considered it a "serious" or "somewhat serious" problem, with secondary teachers seeing it as more important than elementary teachers (Weiss 1978, p. B129-130).

Objectives are generally specified through committees who work in good faith--"considering majority and minority views; acknowledging unique local conditions, teacher prerogatives, and individual differences among students" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 14:22). But the committee also may feel compelled to reach consensus: "One usual result is for the statements to be made up of global and noncontroversial aims" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 14:23). Perhaps it is this situation which diminishes the influence that statements of behavioral objectives have on teachers' choice of instructional methods.

School Climate

Whatever a teacher's preservice education, previous inservice experiences, or district policies, he or she works in an individual school--a school with an ambience of its own. In the words of one site observer, "The schools have lives of their own, existing as organisms exist, to 'be on with it,' perpetuating themselves and protecting against assault from without" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:23). "The philosophy and style of the principal and the traditions and social structure within a single school probably have most to do with the educational program there" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 2:20).

What happens to teachers in these autonomous organisms? According to Stake and Easley, they become institutionalized or at least socialized into that school's climate. A young teacher said to one of the case study reporters:

> What I think is very sad about first year teachers is they're so disappointed after they get into the classroom. [Vigorous laughter from other teachers present.] You have all these neat activities and good ideas but you cannot work in the classroom-type situations we have and have these things be successful. . . . By the end of the first year, she's made a lot of revisions and things aren't nearly as fun as they were, and by the end of the second year she's thrown out a lot of them (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:4).

Because socialization of students is the preemptive aim of most schools, the teacher, in choosing teaching methods, needs to consider whether the method "fits" with the prevailing school climate. Notice the word school climate is used here rather than classroom climate. While teachers have considerable liberty in their individual classrooms, in matters of discipline and student control what goes on in their classroom must be appropriate within the general expectations for the entire school. Research has suggested that developing desired attitudes in students is not accomplishable just within the confines of the classroom; indeed, the entire school climate must contribute (Tucker 1977, p. 117).

Although difficult to define and quantify, the prevailing school climate, as exemplified by administrators, students, teachers, and the physical plant, appears to be a powerful influence on teachers' choices of instructional practices. Any movement to "reform" or change teachers' instructional practices must take into account the factor of school climate and recognize its restraining and supportive potential.

Community Influence

Because schools are locally supported institutions, community expectations and wishes have always weighed prominently in educational decision making. The influence of community expectations on teachers' choices of instructional practices takes place early on--in the hiring of teachers. From all the case study observations, Stake and Easley concluded that:

> Teachers had been carefully selected to fit the community . . . teachers were anxious not to put children or parents in anguish--so some occasionally went as "far out" as the community, the parents, and the youngsters would let them, but seldom further (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:25).

This is not to say that all teachers were alike. What seemed to emerge in each community was a comfortable mix of "relatively stern socializers and relatively liberal socializers" (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:25).

Within the seldom-defined but generally understood expectations of the community, teachers choose their instructional methods. Most parents seem to be in agreement with the heavy dependence on the textbook, lecture, and recitation. They learned with such methods when they went to school. They did not experience the use of simulations, role plays, and open-ended discussion and are therefore likely to identify such innovations as "fun and games." Teachers can avoid questions about their teaching practices by simply avoiding nontraditional practices.

The back-to-basics movement has helped demonstrate how closely teachers and laypersons tend to think in matters of instruction. While some teachers have protested back-to-basics as a restraint on their choice of instructional practices, most have no complaint and indeed support the movement (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 13:55).

While teachers and their communities have rarely been in philosophical conflict in the past, recent economic conditions have drawn battle lines in some communities. For years school bond issues were virtually assured passage to raise new monies for local systems. Now such bond issues across the country have resulted in "no" votes. At the same time, union negotiators have found boards of education increasingly resistant to wage and condition demands.

Finances clearly have an impact on teachers' instructional practices. In the RTI survey, social studies teachers ranked "insufficient funds for equipment and supplies" as their third most serious problem. "Lack of materials for individualizing" was the second most serious; lack of paraprofessional help and inadequate space for group activities were also mentioned (Weiss 1978, p. 158). The inability to secure recent technological inventions such as computers may well explain why so few teachers employ these tools in their instruction. If budgets continue to decline, even the tried and true textbooks and worksheets may be less available. This would produce a dilemma both for teachers who rely on these materials and for parents who expect their use in schools.

The community does seem to influence teachers' choices of instructional methods, but the greatest community influence precedes the teacher into the classroom. Teachers who might "upset the apple cart" are carefully screened out during the hiring process. Consequently, teachers who are hired feel little direct community pressure--except as budgets are tightened. Even then, teachers seldom protest too loudly, they are, after all, also taxpayers.

Research Findings

Theoretically, one influence on teachers' choices of instructional materials ought to be findings from research on cognition and teaching methodology. Nowhere in the sources reviewed was there direct information on how much teachers use such information in making instructional decisions. In the national survey, 40 to 45 percent of social studies teachers reported that they considered professional journals a "very useful" source of information, but it is unclear how much, if any, of the perceived usefulness is related to research findings.

One limitation on a teacher's use of research findings is the nature of such findings. For the most part, research related to instructional effectiveness has netted few concrete answers--answers that are definitive and that suggest immediate applicability by teachers. In summarizing the research reviewed for a 20-year period, Wiley writes:

> A large proportion of the effectiveness research conducted in the social studies falls under the heading of research on instructional methods and much of this focuses on various methods labeled "critical thinking," "inquiry," and the like. Most of this research shows no significant differences between critical thinking methods and so-called traditional methods . . . (Wiley 1977, p. 9).

Martorella, in another summary of research on cognition, reaches the same conclusion: "At this time, there appears to be no body of evidence that says any of these approaches are consistently superior or inferior for certain types of learning to any of the alternative instructional approaches examined in the studies" (Martorella 1977, p. 45). Martorella clarifies his conclusion by saying:

> Research can always tell us something. The issue is how useful the answer is. And much of the potential usefulness of the answer depends upon how you perceive it. Let me illustrate: If you are a staunch advocate of the use of behavioral objectives, inquiry or discovery approaches, advance organizers, simulation games, and mastery learning, you could point with some satisfaction to the evidence that such approaches generally appear to be as effective as alternative ones in producing certain learning outcomes. Given another posture, the same data can accurately be interpreted to say that there is no consistent evidence that such approaches are any better than some alternatives. Advocates for either posture can be supported by the same data (Martorella 1977, p. 45).

Martorella goes on to say that there are some clear-cut findings concerning instructional variables: "Much is already known about sequencing and organizing instruction to facilitate a narrow range of cognitive outcomes. There are a number of specific models and guidelines suggested by research for teaching facts and concepts" (Martorella 1977, p. 46). Martorella has since pulled from some of those findings implications for the design of social studies instructional materials (Martorella 1979, pp. 11-14).

Thus, it appears that there is research going on that has implications for instructional choices. Frequently such research points to central tendencies, focusing on individuals in general but giving no information on particular individuals (Martorella 1977, p. 44). Investigations have tended to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. Often the questions to which social studies teachers need answers produce "no significant differences." Those studies which do produce significant differences report conclusions so obvious that they offer no new guidance. Despite all these limitations, however, there is reason to believe that ultimately such research will provide answers that will help teachers choose more effective teaching practices. Until that time arrives, it seems unlikely that most teachers will consider research findings when they choose teaching procedures.

In summary, of the several factors which might be assumed to influence teachers' choices of instructional practices, those appearing to be most powerful are the climate of the school in which the teacher teaches and the expectations of the community in which the school is located. The influence of these sources in large measure shapes the thinking of teachers and ultimately forms their personal beliefs about which practices are most effective and practical. Pre- and inservice training, behavioral objectives, and research may play a role in shaping choices, but the messages from these sources will be filtered through the community expectations and school climate. Those practices which prove compatible with climate and community are the ones mostly likely to enjoy long-term use.

Further Research

The results and findings of the National Science Foundation research projects and other research upon which this paper is based give us the best idea to date of how social studies is being taught. We know more precisely what techniques are being used, what strategies and arrangements are common, uncommon, or almost entirely rejected.

The findings also serve to point out what still needs to be known, what questions remain unanswered, what research is critical. In general, the research on instructional practices makes clear the need for more and better studies. Although there are some notable exceptions, much of the research on instructional practices has been poorly conceived and/or executed, making the findings either unintelligible or unusable. With that general call for more and better research, the following areas seem among the most pressing if we are to better understand social studies instruction:

1. More time-on-task studies of social studies classes are needed. The recent research of John Goodlad and others who have studied how time is used in classrooms has pointed up the critical nature of time use. As time allotments for social studies are reduced, particularly at elementary levels, information on what is done with the time left is very much needed. Among the questions to be asked might be: What are the time "wasters" in social studies instruction (e.g., getting out materials, going over answers, giving instructions)? Do all students spend about the same amount of time on task, or are time expectations different for different students? How do the most effective teachers use their class time?

2. More intensive ethnographic studies of all instructional techniques are needed. Fairly reliable information is available on the frequency with which various instructional techniques are employed, but relatively little is known about exactly how these techniques are applied. Similarly, little is indicated about why the popular techniques are so predominant and why others are used so rarely. Neither do we know why some teachers consistently use the innovative techniques that their colleagues avoid. Examples of questions for study are: What is really meant by "lecture" at precollege levels? During recitation periods, do teachers adjust their levels of questioning to students' varying abilities? Are certain personality types common among teachers who are more likely to use inquiry methods?

3. The use of textbooks as the organizer and implementer of instruction needs intensive research. The findings about the predominance of the textbook in social studies instruction are impressive. Clearly, this instructional tool plays a critical role in social studies students' learning. Yet we know little about its use. To find out more, questions such as these need research: What instructional practices are suggested or implied in textbooks and their accompanying manuals? Do

teachers use the manuals? How much of a teacher's and a student's learning time is actually spent reading the text, as opposed to applying or extending what has been read? How much challenge of the "authority" of the text is allowed or encouraged in social studies classes?

4. More data, hopefully more conclusive data, on the effectiveness of various instructional practices is needed. The research studies currently available on effectiveness of instructional practices are replete with findings of "no significant differences" or "inconclusive results." Although these findings are important, having "significant difference" information on which to make instructional judgments would be helpful to teachers and curriculum developers. Among the questions to which answers would be useful are: What seem to be the immediate results of various instructional practices as reflected in student success, student attitudes, and student appraisals? What seem to be the long-term effects of social studies instruction? How do students evaluate the commonly, and not so commonly, used instructional practices? What are the effects of various combinations of instructional techniques?

5. Information on the quantity and quality of evaluation in social studies classes is critical. Data in this report suggest that one reason teachers favor teaching of facts is because facts are "testable." Yet teachers' evaluation practices seem highly intuitive. More intensive study of how teachers arrive at evaluation conclusions is needed. Questions to be answered include: How are teacher-made test questions conceived? How are students evaluated on recitation and discussion? What do teachers do when standardized test results and their own testing results conflict? How do teachers who use nontraditional teaching methods evaluate their students?

6. The link between school climate and teachers' instructional practices needs to be carefully detailed. The teaching practices of teachers within a school are clearly influenced by that school's climate, but we know little about how this happens. The picture is further confused by the casual observation that considerable diversity exists among the instructional practices of teachers on a faculty. Answers to the following kinds of questions would be helpful: How are parameters for teachers' instructional practices determined and communicated? Does school climate "vary" (i.e., are expectations and limitations different

for different teachers)? Why do some teachers seem to constantly "buck the system," and why are the "rebels" tolerated on some faculties and not others?

7. Information on why teachers trust and distrust, or disregard, various sources of information on new teaching practices is needed if preservice education and on-the-job training are to be made more effective. The data in this paper suggest that teachers have few trusted sources of information; their greatest trust is placed in each other. If this is true, how can new information and ideas penetrate the classroom? Before we can hope to improve systems for getting information to teachers, we must better understand why teachers reject so much of the information now provided. In particular we need to know: What are the specific failures of preservice education in preparing teachers for the "real world" of the classroom? How can an individual teacher's needs for information be met in systems which now deliver "generic" inservice? Is inservice received more favorably by teachers when they participate in its planning?

8. More information is needed on the changes in instructional practices evidenced by teachers at various stages of their teaching careers. The "passages" teachers experience in their careers are being examined, but there is little information now available on how instruction is influenced by age and experience. As faculties grow older and more stable in the present period of declining enrollments, questions such as these should be asked: How many techniques employed by a first-year teacher result from preservice education? By whom and how is the new teacher influenced in choosing instructional practices? Do teachers who experience "burnout" change their instructional practices during their burnout period? How do still-enthusiastic teachers who have taught many years renew themselves?

9. The practices and needs of elementary teachers warrant careful examination. Elementary teachers are not social studies specialists, yet they are expected to provide students the content and skills needed for successful secondary experiences. Little attention has been paid in social studies research to the elementary teacher. As social studies status declines in the elementary curriculum, we need to know more about how elementary teachers view social studies and their ability to teach

the subject. Fruitful questions would include: What instructional practices did elementary teachers learn in preservice methods courses (if they had any)? What link between social studies and reading do elementary teachers make? How much of an elementary teacher's day revolves around incidental social studies teaching/learning, particularly in the area of self-concept and human relations?

Many other areas of research would, of course, broaden and deepen our understanding of social studies instruction, but answers to the questions posed above (and others they stimulate) would paint a much more detailed picture of instruction.

Conclusion

How is social studies taught in the United States today? Why are some instructional methods constantly used, while others are rarely used? Does instruction vary by grade level or type of student? What tools are used? Has instruction changed in the past 20, or 50, years? These and other questions were ones which we hoped to answer by synthesizing available research and theory.

In part the questions have been answered by the many studies cited in this paper. For example, we know from the available information that most social studies instruction, at every grade level, is conducted in large-group (whole-class) arrangements; little use is made of smaller groupings or individualized instruction. Similarly, most instruction is conducted by a single teacher rather than by teams or clusters. Teachers have much to do besides teaching; a considerable portion of a teacher's time is occupied by administrivia, discipline, and preparation.

The most common tools of the teacher's trade are textbooks, dittoed worksheets, and films or filmstrips. Teachers like and trust these tools, as do students at all grade levels. Using these tools, teachers lecture, discuss, lead recitation, and make assignments. They typically do not inquire, do much with values, go into the community, conduct simulations, or use other "innovative" practices. They evaluate through teacher-made tests, recitation, and homework assignments. The evaluation practices serve to socialize as well as to provide the basis for grades.

We also know from our information that whatever teaching methods teachers employ, their choices reflect their beliefs about the needs, expectations, and limitations placed on them by students, the school, and the community. Although teachers are exposed to new instructional methods in pre- and inservice experiences as well as by professional literature and administrative directives, they seem to weigh most heavily the expectations of their school and community in making instructional decisions. This decision-making process produces considerable public and administrative support for the traditional methods used by the majority of teachers most of the time.

What is the significance of this information? What do we now know that we didn't formerly know?

What we now have is not more information but more precise information about instructional practices. For example, we know statistically how many teachers use textbooks and what percentage of their time is spent in lecture or "teacher talk." For the most part, the research findings have confirmed traditional wisdom and hypotheses; there is benefit in this confirmation. However, the dismaying realization that results from the research synthesis--if our goal is to seek new, more effective ways to combat student underachievement and disinterest--is that what we know may be less important than what we do not know.

To address this problem, and ultimately to encourage and help teachers improve their instructional practices, researchers, administrators, and curriculum developers--all those who would attempt to improve instructional practices--must begin to deemphasize "central tendency" studies and turn their attention to in-depth research on individual teachers and how they teach.

Any discussion of instructional practices is really a discussion of teachers. Practices can be conceived as separate entities, but only through teachers do they have life. Until we better understand the beliefs, experiences, conditions, and expectations of individual teachers who choose and use instructional techniques, there is little prospect of confirming the effectiveness of commonly used practices or influencing change to other methods. Individual teachers do indeed seem to be the key to instruction. We must know more about their diversity as well as their uniformity to truly understand social studies instructional practices.

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BARRIERS TO CHANGE IN SOCIAL STUDIES

By Lee F. Anderson

The Necessary Conditions for Change in Social Studies

It is easy to imagine a school system in which all social studies lessons in elementary schools and all social studies classrooms in secondary schools are informed by the philosophy, the curriculum organization and materials, and the instructional practices associated with the curriculum reform movement we have come to call the new social studies. Why does this state of affairs not exist in fact? Why in 1982 do we not live in a world in which the teaching and learning of social studies are dominated by the spirit and substance of the past two decades of reform effort?

This paper attempts to answer that question, first specifying what would have been the necessary (although perhaps not the sufficient) conditions of widespread, substantial change in social studies education and then arguing that these necessary conditions did not exist and examining reasons for their absence.

In order for the social studies curriculum reform movement of the 1960s and early 1970s to have effected widespread and substantial change in the teaching of social studies in the nation's schools,* two conditions would have had to exist. First, the philosophy, curriculum materials, and instructional practices endorsed by the advocates of the new social studies would have had to enter the phenomenological world of a very large portion of the nation's classroom teachers. Second, this body of philosophy, materials, and practices would have had to be congruent with the culture of schooling, or if these philosophies, materials, and practices were not initially congruent with the culture of schooling, then the new social studies movement would have had to effect change in that culture so as to produce congruence.

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*While the focus of this paper is on the "new social studies" of the 1960s and 1970s, the lessons to be learned from this promising episode in the history of social studies education are no doubt generalizable to future efforts to change social studies and, beyond social studies, to educational change in general.

Necessary Condition #1: The World of the Teacher

Obviously, the first of these two necessary conditions never existed. The data analyzed by Project SPAN clearly show that the number of classroom teachers who were even aware of the reform movement, let alone whose professional lives were significantly touched by it, was very small. The situation has been characterized by two instructive metaphors.

One is social studies as an iceberg. The activity of social studies reformers is the tip of the iceberg that shows above the surface of the ocean. The bulk of social studies--what is happening in the majority of classrooms--lies beneath the surface and goes unobserved. The other metaphor is of social studies education as a deep lake with the wind rippling the surface. Innovations are the ripples on the surface. Beneath the surface lies the great bulk of schooling, which remains undisturbed.

Why is this the case? Why did not the new social studies enter into the life worlds of many more teachers? The answer would seem to be found in two partially related phenomena. One phenomenon is the approach to and models of change that undergirded the social studies curriculum reform efforts of the past two decades. The other phenomenon is the ecological structure of the educational system that we reformers tried to change.

Models of Educational Change*

Efforts to bring about change in social studies education may seem to be a kaleidoscope of random events, but closer inspection suggests that social studies reformers in the 1960s and early 1970s were operating on several alternative models for producing change in the schools. Moreover, these models all seem to represent variants of one overarching approach to educational change, the validity of which can be questioned.

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*The following discussion is based heavily upon the work of Richard Remy (1980).

One can identify at least four alternative models used by social studies educators in their attempts to effect educational change. These might be characterized as the technological model, the market model, the professional/client model, and the political model.

The technological model posits that the problem of change is basically a technological problem in the sense that if proper technologies (i.e., curriculum materials and teacher training procedures) are created, then change will occur in schools. According to this model, the absence of educational change is a function of the absence of proper technologies. If and when these are developed, change will be forthcoming.

The market model posits that the problem of change is basically a marketing problem. The educational system is seen as a market in which there are consumers for the products of educational reformers. If reformers produce products attractive to the consumers (social studies teachers) the latter will buy and use these products. Thus, this model holds that the absence of change is a function of the inability of reformers to produce attractive products.

The professional/client model of educational change is patterned on the helping professions and the clinical approach found in medicine and agriculture. Here the basic idea is that social studies reformers are the possessors of a body of expertise that teachers will find helpful in coping with the problems they confront. Thus, the problem of change is basically one of the quantity and quality of interaction between professional experts and their teacher clients. Enhance and improve this interaction, and change in schools will follow.

The political model sees educational change as a matter of manipulating power. Change comes if and when reformers induce governmental authority at federal or state levels to mandate change in schools; alternatively, change will come if and when reformers mobilize public demands for change.

These four models of educational change rest upon an image of the educational system as an arena governed by laws of demand and supply. The technological, the market, and the professional/client models posit that demands exist for innovative social studies; the challenge is to supply this demand. The political model posits that there is an existing supply of good products; the challenge is to create a demand for them.

How valid is this underlying image of the educational system? Not very valid, I suspect. On the one hand, there is little reason to believe that a demand for innovation exists and that the problem of reform is therefore basically a supply problem. On the other hand, it is doubtful that professional reformers can by themselves create a demand for innovation. Why are reformers impotent as creators of demand? To answer this question, we must look at the nature of the educational system as a system.

Ecological Structure of the Educational System

We frequently talk and write of education under the assumption that the processes and institutions through which society educates constitute a "system." Rarely, however, do we examine what kind of system it is. Where does "the educational system" belong in the kingdom, phylum, class, order, family, genus, and species of systems?

The reason for this lack of attention paid to this question is probably found in the fact that educators wanting to talk about education at the societal level simply appropriated a term that had developed to describe schooling at the community or local level. At this level we can talk about school systems in the United States and mean something reasonably precise. A school system is a set of one or more schools governed by a single legislative body normally called a board of education or school board and administered by a single chief executive, customarily called a superintendent. At the societal level the school system in this sense does not exist. No one group or person is constitutionally empowered to make or administer decisions for the local boards of education, nor is there an executive agency comparable to the office of superintendent. There is simply no national system of school decision making in the way there is at the community and even state levels.

Thus, one can legitimately ask in what, if any, way does it make sense to talk of a society-wide educational system even when one restricts education to mean schooling. The problem is, obviously, greatly intensified when one stretches the boundaries of "system" to incorporate all social settings in which learning takes place, whether they be schools, churches, street corners, hospitals, parks, neighborhood bars, or airplanes in transcontinental flight. Under these circumstances, does the concept of "system" in the phrase "educational system" have any real meaning, or are we simply talking about an aggregate of unrelated and disconnected phenomena?

I think we can fruitfully talk about the educational system as a system, but to do so we must turn our attention to a kind of system that is only recently entering into social scientific thinking about educational systems. This is the concept of ecological system. In the following subsections, I use ecological system as a literary metaphor useful in highlighting several features of the educational system that are relevant to understanding why the classroom impact of the social studies reform movement was so circumscribed geographically and limited demographically. I then look at the ecology of the educational system in a more precise and less metaphorical way in order to highlight structural characteristics of the system that seemed to delimit the spread of social studies reform in the nation's schools.

Educational Ecology as Metaphor

Conventionally, introductory biology and ecology books define an ecosystem as comprised of (1) individual organisms, (2) that are related to other organisms of the same species to form a population, (3) that is in turn functionally linked with other populations to form a biotic community, (4) that is functionally linked to an abiotic environment; collectively, the individual organisms, the populations, the community, and the abiotic environment form the network of interdependencies that is an ecosystem. What does such a conceptualization look like when applied to education? What are the organisms, the populations, the community, and the environment that together form the ecosystem in which social studies education takes place?

The Species. The organisms, of course, are the individual human beings who are involved in the education of the young, including the young themselves. When we turn to populations, the matter becomes a bit more complex, and I suppose one can argue that the metaphor of ecosystem breaks down immediately. Obviously, as we are using the term, education is an intraspecies phenomenon monopolized by one species, homo sapiens. Thus, how can we think of different populations and hence of an ecology of education? The answer lies in taking seriously our elementary lessons in anthropology or human biology, in which we learned about the place of culture in the world of nature and its adaptive significance in the life space of homo sapiens.

Among the things that culture brings into existence are processes within human life space that are only indirectly governed by the genetic laws that directly govern analogues to these processes in the life space of other species. One such process is the evolution of variation through the differentiation of statuses or roles. That is, while we homo sapiens, like all life forms, are endowed with mechanisms to assure genetically based variability, we add socially created variability via mechanisms that include status or role differentiation. In the rest of nature, a constantly expanding range in genetically based variability eventually produces a speciation. An analogous process at the level of social systems takes place through the process of expanding role differentiation. At time T_1 there is a parent and a child. At time T_2 there is child, parent, and teacher. At time T_3 there is child, parent, teacher, and principal. At time T_4 there is child, parent, teacher, principal, and television producer and so on and so on until the social space in which social studies education occurs is populated with a rich array of very different roles.

Metaphorically, we can think of the individuals who occupy these divergent roles as members of different populations or species. Of course, strictly speaking, these socially created species do not meet the biological test of "specieness," since there is some organismic mobility among species (e.g., some teachers do become principals and some principals become textbook editors, etc.) and there is some productive social intercourse between members of different species (e.g., discussions that result in new perceptions or actions sometimes do take place between parents and teachers). However, the incidence of role exchange and viable interrole information transfer is rather low in most parts of U.S. education. Indeed, if believers in reincarnation are correct, there is probably more mobility among species in the animal kingdom than among occupants of different role structures in American education. Moreover, the world population of donkeys may exceed in number the population of "viable messages" exchanged among occupants of different roles in U.S. education. Thus, while the biological tests of species differentiation do not literally apply to speciation by social roles, the similarities are strong enough to warrant treating metaphorically the occupants of different educational roles as different populations.*

Moving up a hierarchy of complexity, the next unit in an ecological system is a community, defined as a network of interacting and/or interdependent populations. In the case of the educational ecosystem, the community is made up of a large number of populations. Indeed, we do not have any comprehensive census of these populations, let alone a taxonomy in which to locate them. I have mentioned in passing some of the more numerous and better known populations--students, teachers, parents, administrators. Other populations include: teachers of teachers in universities, state legislators, curriculum developers, educational researchers, school board members, state governors, representatives of interest groups concerned about social education, textbook editors, textbook sales representatives, curriculum supervisors, court justices, state-level bureaucrats, federal-level educational bureaucrats, scholars who produce knowledge consumed by school people, educational journalists, and television producers.

We could go on and on, but my point is simply to indicate that the educational community emcompasses a very rich and varied array of populations. Moreover, many of the major populations are divisible into subspecies. Students are broken down by age categories. Preschool teachers are different in many ways from high school teachers and both of these groups are different from teachers of intermediate-grade children. Similarly, school administrators come in relatively well-marked and distinguishable subspecies--assistant principals, principals, associate superintendents, superintendents, etc. A kind of academic racial differentiation occurs within some populations and subpopulations. High school science teachers are different from social studies teachers, who in turn are different from industrial arts teachers. Similarly, social studies methods teachers in universities belong to a different academic race than trainers of administrators; these two groups are in turn racially distinguishable from educational psychologists.

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*This usage of the concept of population was suggested by Kenneth Boulding's analysis of different kinds of organizations as different populations within the sociosphere, just as different forms of life constitute different populations in the biosphere.

Interdependencies. The many populations in natural ecosystems are interlinked to form complex webs of interdependencies. The same is true of the educational ecosystem.

Consider the following illustration. In recent years birth rates have been declining in the United States. Since teachers "eat" children for a living, the declining school age population reduces teachers' "food supply." Hence, more teachers qua teachers "die." Since administrators eat teachers, the decline in the teacher population reduces their food supply, and thus the death rate among administrators goes up. With increasing death rates among teachers and administrators, the birth rates of both populations decline. Since teachers in schools of education eat the embryos of prospective teachers and administrators, the declining birth rates of both these populations adversely affects their food supply, and thus an increasing number of teachers of teachers die or change diets. Diet change in turn affects other populations and relationships among populations. For example, when schools of education diversify, initiating programs to train people in education-related positions outside of schools, the relationship of professional educators to liberal arts professors changes. When schools of education specialized solely in training school personnel, a cooperative, symbiotic relationship characterized school of education/liberal arts department relations Schools of education provided the specialized courses needed by liberal arts majors who wanted to become certified to teach; in exchange departments of English, political science, history, music, etc., allowed education majors to meet their liberal arts requirements. When schools of education enter the business of training people for roles outside of schools, schools of education and liberal arts departments feed on the same population. An interspecies relationship once characterized by cooperation and symbiosis is replaced by a relationship of competition for the same food supply, namely undergraduates.

Here is another kind of illustration. For years textbook publishers were the prime, almost sole, suppliers of the mass-communicated language consumed by students. Then television came along. To a relatively bland diet of printed words, students could now add a reasonably rich fare of visual images. This had far-reaching ramifications for the publishing industry. Textbook publishers had to increase the ratio of artwork to words in their books. This in turn led to shifts in relations among different kinds of people in the publishing business. As pictures and other forms of artwork became more important, art and design departments assumed a new importance relative to editorial departments. Moreover, since pictures cost more than words, the cost of producing textbooks increased substantially. This in turn meant that "market considerations" assumed an increased importance in decision making about what should and should not be produced. Of course, this meant that people who specialized in the promotion and sale of books took on a new political importance in relation to editors and others who specialized in making books. One could pile example upon example, but enough has been said to make this point: The populations comprising the educational community, like the populations making up a natural ecosystem, are linked to one another in a very complex network of interdependencies.

Environment. The biotic elements of natural ecosystems, to which we have compared components of the educational ecology, also have an abiotic component, normally called the system's physical habitat, of which the most important parts are soil, atmosphere, water, and solar energy. In the case of educational ecosystems, the analogue to the abiotic environment is culture.

By culture I mean entities created by humans. I think it is useful to distinguish four classes of such entities that collectively make up the cultural environment of an educational ecosystem. These are:

1. Technologies. Technologies can be defined as tools and the skills to use tools. As the case studies analyzed by Project SPAN indicate, textbooks are a major, if not the major, technology of social studies instruction in schools.

2. Languages. Languages are any symbol systems humans use to communicate information, feelings, and directives. Some of the languages

that figure prominently in the ecology of education are the language of lawyers, the language of scientists, the language of politicians, the language of children, and the language of teachers.

3. Beliefs. Beliefs refer to images in our minds of what is true, good, and beautiful and conversely of what is false, evil, and ugly. Teachers' belief that students have changed is one example of the beliefs that the case studies used by Project SPAN highlight.

4. Institutions. Institutions are socially learned, long-lasting ways of doing things. Saluting the flag is an institution. Collective bargaining among teachers and school boards is becoming an institution in most parts of the United States. Reading textbooks, answering questions at the end of the chapter, and taking tests are institutions. Schooling itself is an institution.

So far, I have tried to describe the educational system as an ecosystem in terms of analogues in the structural properties of both educational systems and natural ecosystems. The same can be done in respect to functional characteristics. I will describe just a few of many examples that could be cited.

Governance. Natural ecosystems are self-governing systems, but they have no governors. The same can be said of the U.S. educational system. Just as there is no one part of the ecosystem of a forest that processes information on behalf of the whole forest, there is no subsystem within the U.S. educational system that processes information on behalf of the whole system. Just as there is no part of the ecology of a forest that sets goals for the forest as a whole, there is no one individual, group, or institution that sets goals for the educational system as a whole. Similarly, just as no part of the ecology of a forest can act on behalf of the forest as a whole, there is no part of the educational system that can act on behalf of the system as a whole. In short, there is no centralized institution of authority within the American education system.

Hence, while many people (like myself and the groups with which I am associated) can offer our diagnoses of the state of education in the United States, there are no authoritative diagnoses. Similarly, while many people can set goals for education, no one can authoritatively set goals. Likewise, while many people can act to induce change within the system, no one can act in the name of the system to change the system.

In part the absence of system-wide governance in U.S. education results from the status of education in the American polity. Our founding fathers saw fit to omit education from the activities constitutionally assigned to the national government. Education was thus left as a responsibility of state governments. They in turn passed on a substantial share of decision-making authority as well as administrative responsibility to local units commonly known as school districts.

But this is only part of the explanation. Even if a national czar for education were to be created today, the complexity of the system would severely limit the scope and range of centralized control.

Change. The fact that the educational system, like natural ecosystems, is self-governing but ungoverned significantly affects the nature of educational change. In natural ecologies all substantial change in biotic communities is ultimately traceable to changes in the abiotic environment and more particularly to climatic changes in the atmosphere. The same appears to be true of change in the educational system. The culture of educational ecologies--technologies, institutions, beliefs, and languages--link the educational system to the larger world; through these links flow the "influences" that result in change within the system.

Let me cite a few autobiographical examples. I was a child during World War II, bombarded with messages via the educational system that Germans were no good. My wife was in elementary school a few years later. World War II had ended and the Cold War had begun. The messages reaching her were that the Germans were good and the Russians were bad. Today, we have two children. Both had occasion to study China in the same grade, at different times. But the messages about China to which our son was exposed were quite different from the messages to which our daughter was exposed. The origin of this difference in their political education was change in the climate of U.S. government/Chinese government relations.

Energy Transfers. Let us look at one other kind of functional process before moving on. This is the matter of energy transfers within ecosystems. In natural ecological systems energy transfer is very inefficient because of the laws of thermodynamics. Take, for example, a simple food chain consisting of grass, field mice, and weasels. Ninety-nine percent of the potential solar energy available to the grass is lost in heat; that is, the grass converts only one percent of available solar energy into plant tissue. Field mice consume only two percent of the available energy in the plant biomass. In turn the weasels consume only 30 percent of the energy available in the mouse biomass. At this point in the food chain too little energy remains to support a further carnivore level to prey on the weasels.

What has happened? At each trophic level in the chain, progressively more energy is lost in heat. Of the solar energy absorbed by the grass, approximately 15 percent is lost through heat conversion, the mice lose approximately 68 percent of the energy transferred to them from plants, and weasels lose through heat transfer about 93 percent of the energy transferred to them from mice.

In the case of the educational system, laws analogous to the laws of thermodynamics appear to be operative. If energy is defined conventionally as the ability to do work, that is, to effect change, there are at least three forms of energy within the educational system. These are information, authority, and money. The exchange systems that operate in the case of each of these energy forms appear to be highly inefficient and governed by some kind of thermodynamic principle.

Here are some examples. In the 1960s a substantial federal investment was made in efforts to upgrade social studies education in U.S. schools through summer institutes for teachers. Teachers came for several weeks to a university campus for an intensive workshop under the direction of a social scientist or methods teacher. These institutes were based on a simple theory of energy transfer. University personnel were to abstract from the totality of knowledge within a discipline a portion that would be transferred to teachers. Teachers in turn were to transfer some portion of this knowledge to students. Thus, a very simple information exchange system was operating, of no more complexity than the grass-mouse-weasel food chain discussed above. Unfortunately, we do

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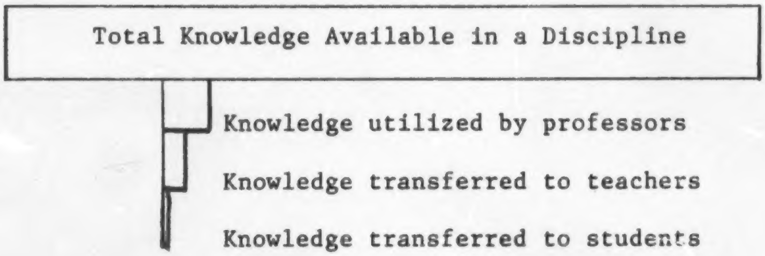
not have the means of monitoring information transfer with the same precision that ecologists can construct "energy budgets" for natural ecosystems. What we do know strongly suggests that the professor-teacher-student information transfer system was even less efficient than energy transfer systems between grass, mice, and weasels. Were we able to plot the shape of the information exchange pyramid operative in the summer institute program, I believe it would closely resemble the hypothetical one shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

HYPOTHETICAL INFORMATION EXCHANGE PYRAMID
FOR SUMMER INSTITUTE PROGRAM

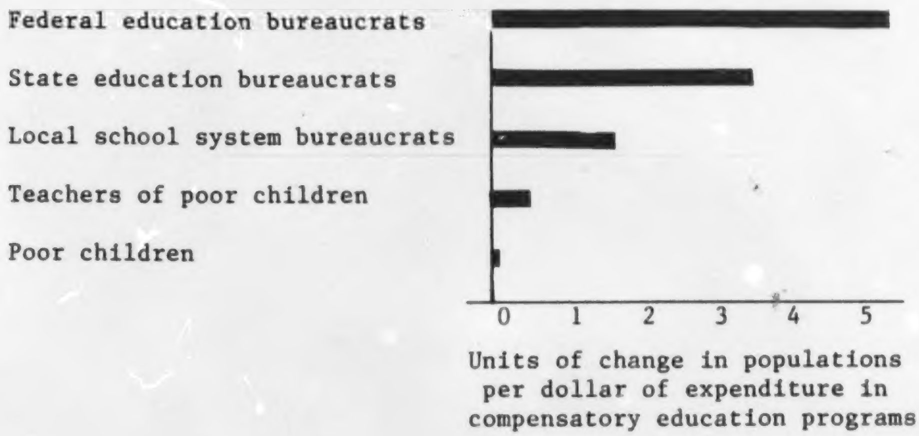

Total Knowledge Available in a Discipline
Knowledge utilized by professors
Knowledge transferred to teachers
Knowledge transferred to students

Now let's take the case of money. The U.S. taxpayer through the federal government spent in the past couple of decades several hundred million dollars on so-called compensatory education programs. These were programs intended to enrich the educational opportunities of children of low-income families. Imagine that we had a measure of the amount of change produced in different populations for each dollar spent on compensatory education. Based on my reading of evaluations of compensatory education programs, Figure 2 shows my hunch of how a change graph would look.

Finally, let us look at energy in the form of authority. Several years ago the school board of a large urban school system with which I have a passing acquaintance adopted a policy that decision making should be decentralized and the participation of local school administrators, teachers, and parents maximized. What was the consequence of this burst of energy? Virtually no change in the role of building-level administrators, teachers, or parents in educational policy making. The force of the policy was largely lost in the "heat" generated by efforts to change traditional bureaucratic ways of doing things; virtually none of that force found its way into the behaviors of building-level principals, teachers, or parents.

Figure 2

HYPOTHETICAL GRAPH OF CHANGE PRODUCED BY COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMS



Summary. I have been concerned with the problem of conceptualizing the context in which social studies education takes place. Specifically, I have argued that it may prove useful to think of this context as an ecosystem metaphorically analogous to natural ecosystems. I think such a view is potentially fruitful for a simple reason: the educational system both looks and behaves like natural ecosystems, as I have tried to illustrate.

Educational Ecology: Bronfenbrenner Model

The notion of the educational system as an ecological system is more than a metaphor that illuminates some of the resistance to the changes in schools championed by social studies reformers. Ecology also provides a particular perspective on education and more broadly on human development, as Urie Bronfenbrenner demonstrates in his path-breaking work, The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design (1979). I want to use some of Bronfenbrenner's ideas in trying to illuminate structural characteristics of the educational system that served to constrain, impede, or otherwise limit the diffusion within schools of social studies reform efforts.

Let us begin with a premise that seems to emerge clearly from the data reviewed by Project SPAN: teachers are the keys to what happens or does not happen in social studies lessons in elementary schools and social studies classes in high schools. To the extent that this is true, change in social studies instruction is a function of change in teachers. We can usefully think of change as a development process, defining development to mean "a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with the environment" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 3). Thus, teacher development can be defined as a lasting change in the way a teacher perceives and deals with social studies.

The process of human development consists of an interaction between the developing person and the characteristics of the ecological environment in which the person is embedded. "The ecological environment is conceived," Bronfenbrenner observes, "as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (p. 3).

At the center of the ecological structure are the immediate settings containing the developing persons. In the case of teachers, these are the settings that they phenomenologically experience in their day-to-day lives. These include such school-related settings as classrooms, teachers' lounges, inservice workshops, meetings between teachers and curriculum supervisors and administrators, professional meetings, and union meetings. Other settings are to be found in the contexts of teachers' involvement in families, religious groups, political groups, voluntary associations, etc.

A second structural level of the ecological environment consists of "other persons present in [a] setting, the nature of these links, and their indirect influence on the developing person through their effect on those who deal with him at first hand. This complex of interrelations within the immediate setting is referred to as the microsystem" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 7). The microsystem is embedded within larger and larger systems. Following Bronfenbrenner, we can conceive of teachers functioning within a four-level ecological environment. The first level is that of microsystem, the second that of mesosystem, the third exosystem, and the fourth macrosystem. Bronfenbrenner's formal definitions of these four levels are useful in understanding to what these four concepts refer:

> A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics (p. 22).
>
> A mesosystem comprises the interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates (such as, for a child, the relations among home, school, and neighborhood peer group; for an adult, among family, work, and social life) (p. 25).
>
> An exosystem refers to one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by what happens in the setting containing the developing person (p. 25).
>
> The macrosystem refers to consistencies, in the form and content of lower-order systems (micro-, meso-, and exo-) that exist, or could exist, at the level of the subculture or the culture as a whole, along with any belief systems or ideology underlying such consistencies (p. 26).

Using this conceptual mapping of the ecological environment in which individuals are enmeshed, one can ask of any person or group of persons: How conducive are the various characteristics or structural attributes of their ecological environment to their development? In our case the critical question is: How conducive is the ecological environment of social studies teachers to their development; that is, conducive to lasting change in the way teachers perceive and deal with social studies? Unfortunately, the general global answer to this question seems to be "not very." Let us look at some specifics.

Microsystem Level Analysis. We begin by looking at the teacher in the microsystem of the school. Adapting the general definition of microsystem to the context of teachers and schools, we can define that microsystem simply as the pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by teachers in the setting of a school. The three critical factors are activities, interpersonal relations, and roles. As Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 22) notes, these are "the elements, or building blocks, of the microsystem." While these three elements can be treated separately in an analysis of a microsystem, such as a school, the first two elements can also be collapsed into the third; that is, into role, since role encompasses the first two. Following Bronfenbrenner, a role is defined as "a set of activities and relations expected of a person occupying a particular position in society, and of others in relation to that person" (p. 85).

For our purposes the critical question to be asked of schools as microsystems is this: How conducive to social studies teachers' development is the role of teacher in the microsystem of the school? To answer this question, let us distinguish the five basic dimensions of the teacher role: (1) teacher in relation to students, (2) teacher in relation to school administrative personnel (principals, curriculum supervisors, etc.), (3) teacher in relation to other teachers, (4) teacher in relation to parents, and (5) teacher in relation to community (boards of education, citizen groups, etc.).

Teacher in relation to students. Without doubt this is the dominating dimension of the teacher role, at least in respect to time allocation. Are teacher/student activities and relationships conducive to teacher development in the directions favored by the advocates of social studies reform? They could be if the following sequence of learning took place within a classroom: (1) students use textbooks or other instructional materials incorporating the philosophy and approaches of the new social studies; (2) by reading the instructional materials students become socialized into the "culture of the new social studies"; (3) the students, in turn, socialize their teacher into this culture.

While possible, this chain of events is not very likely, for a couple of reasons. First, the hierarchical authority structure of schools and classroom combined with the doctrine of student inferiority inhibits student-to-teacher learning. Second, to the extent student-to-teacher learning does take place, it is likely to contribute to teacher development in a direction opposite to that espoused by the social studies reformers. The reason is simple. Students can experience the new social studies materials to be cognitively too difficult or to be alien to the culture of the traditional classrooms into which they have been previously socialized. They are "turned off" or "tuned out," which in turn affects their teacher. Thus, teachers who were at time T_1 committed to the philosophy, approach, and style of the new social studies become at time T_2 resocialized by their students; they thus reach the conclusion that "this or that book, or this or that activity, does not work with my students." Hence, there is little reason to expect that the teacher/student dimension of the teacher role is a powerful context for development on the part of teachers.

Teacher in relation to administrative personnel. Does this dimension of the teacher role constitute a powerful context for teacher development? It could if one or a combination of two conditions prevailed:

1. If teachers experienced administrative personnel, such as principals and curriculum supervisors, as strong educational leaders who provided a substantial degree of guidance and assistance and advocated the new social studies. I do not know to what extent the Project SPAN data address the latter issue, but these data do raise questions about the extent to which administrative personnel are experienced by teachers as strong educational leaders.

2. If schools were highly bureaucratized institutions in which administrative personnel could work their will on teachers' classroom behavior as assembly-line supervisors might on the workers under their jurisdiction. This is not the case.

Dan Lortie (1969) has noted that the organizational structure of public schools meets only minimal criteria of bureaucracy; there is a hierarchy of offices filled through merit, but the hierarchy is relatively flat; there are divisions of labor, but the divisions are comparatively few; there are careers available, but because the organization is a flat one there are few chances for promotion, and many spend only a few years in such employment; while there are rules of operation, they pertain more to problems of organizational management than to the actions and behaviors of teachers in the classroom, who constitute the core of the educational enterprise. As Robert Dreeben suggests,

> Although teachers may have to follow syllabi handed down from the superintendent's office and follow directives issued by the principal and his administrative subordinates, many, if not most, of their day-to-day activities are governed by the exigencies and pressures of the classroom (Dreeben 1970, p. 47).

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Some of the sociology of education literature suggests that schools might be more usefully looked upon as federated or even feudal polities. Dan Lortie makes the point well:

> Caring less about school-wide than classroom affairs, the teacher is not reluctant to grant the principal clear hegemony over those matters which do not bear directly upon her teaching activities . . . the principal's primary sphere is the school at large, the teacher's is the classroom (Lortie 1969, pp. 35-36).

Lortie has also noted that as principals approach matters of instruction, "the number and tone of administrative initiations change and the 'suggestion' becomes more characteristic than the 'order'" (Lortie 1969, p. 13).

This division of political labor, in which the principal gives the teacher the classroom and the teacher in turn gives the principal the school, explains in part why, in James Shaver's apt phrase, "social studies reform languished at the classroom door." Textbook selection is most often done at the level of the school if not at the level of the district. This is more the domain of the principal than of most classroom teachers. Principals, far more than teachers, are linked to commercial publishers through their book salespeople. Thus, to the extent that the social studies reform movement gained control of the textbook industry, that industry became a conduit interlinking the developers of new materials and school principals; there the pipeline often stopped, producing the often-observed phenomenon of school storage rooms stacked with social studies materials unused by teachers.

Does all of this say that teacher/administrator relationships are never powerful contexts for teachers' development? No, clearly there are schools where teachers have changed in response to leadership from a principal or a curriculum supervisor. Under what conditions does this occur? The data analyzed by Project SPAN do not enlighten us much on this point. However, they do suggest, as does much other literature, that (1) schools are probably the smallest unit of change (and perhaps the largest as well) and (2) change within schools may well be a function of charismatic leadership (in contrast to bureaucratic leadership) exercised on the part of a school principal or curriculum supervisor.

Two conclusions suggest themselves. First, when the following conditions prevail, teacher/administrator relationships become powerful contexts for the development of social studies teachers: (1) a group of teachers is linked to a charismatic principal and/or curriculum supervisor, (2) this principal or supervisor is committed to and knowledgeable about the new social studies, and (3) he or she is capable of providing teachers with material and logistic support as well as inspiration and motivation. Second, this particular constellation of factors is statistically very rare.

Teacher in relation to other teachers. How powerful is this dimension of the teacher's role as a context for the development of social studies teachers? Potentially, it is very powerful, but in actuality it is not. As highlighted by the data analyzed by Project SPAN, as well as by much other research, teachers look to other teachers for assistance and support much more than they look to other people in their immediate or remote environment. Thus, commitment to and skill in teaching the new social studies might have been widely diffused through a contagion process in much the same way that flu or other microparasitic diseases diffuse through a population. This did not happen, so the question is why it didn't.

Two conditions would have had to be present for a "new social studies epidemic" to sweep through the schools. One, given the size of the teacher population, a rather large number of teachers would have had to have been successfully exposed to the new social studies. Two, reasonably well-developed communication networks among teachers would have been needed. Neither condition, in fact, prevailed.

Let us assume that 25,000 teachers were exposed to the new social studies through summer institutes, workshops, and the like (a very liberal estimate). Furthermore, let us assume that every one of the encounters between these 25,000 teachers and the new social studies produced an enthusiastic convert skilled in carrying the message to other teachers (clearly an unrealistic assumption). Even if this had occurred, one suspects that the number of affected teachers would not have been demographically substantial.

The second condition did not and does not prevail either. There is no well-developed communication network linking teacher-to-teacher either within or between schools. As Dan Lortie and many other students of school life point out, teaching is a lonely profession. Most of a teacher's professional life is spent in social isolation and intellectual seclusion. Most inter-teacher communication takes place in teachers' lounges, where it is confined to "small talk," and in union meetings, where it is restricted to "bread and butter" matters. Neither is a powerful context for teacher development.

The structuring of the educational system provides very few contexts for effective teacher development. Teacher centers may prove to be one of these, and for a small fraction of teachers some types of workshops and professional meetings may prove to be another. In some schools the workday and social organization of teachers are structured to facilitate and encourage professionally oriented communication among teachers, but the number of such schools is tiny.

In summary, I suspect it is not an exaggeration to say that discounting their initial socialization into the profession during the first two or three years of teaching, a large majority of teachers devote no more than five percent of their professional lives to professionally oriented communication with other teachers. This is not a reflection on them as persons. Structural features of the ecological environment in which teachers are located do not facilitate teacher-to-teacher communication. To the contrary, they inhibit and discourage it.

Teacher in relation to parents. Again the question is: how powerful a context for teacher development is this dimension of the teacher role? Obviously not powerful at all, as far as the new social studies are concerned. Few parents are in contact with their children's teachers even within the limited context of a PTA or occasional Parents' Night or Visitors' Day. Of those that are, few know or care about the new social studies and hence do not put pressure on or support teachers in this matter. It would appear that the only time in which teacher/parent relationships play an important role in educational change is when the demand for change originates outside of the formal educational establishment and is widely diffused through the attentive school public. The "back-to-basics" movement seems to be a good case in point.

Teacher/community relations. The influence of this dimension of the teacher role on teacher development is negligible as far as the kind of development envisaged by the social studies reform movement is concerned. For most teachers this is a phenomenologically unimportant aspect of their role. For many teachers, when this facet of their role does take on salience, it inhibits rather than facilitates professional growth of the kind desired by the advocates of the new social studies. Teacher/community relationships tend to become salient to teachers only in times of political controversy and protest. Almost without exception, controversy in social studies is triggered by protests directed against the new social studies in contrast to public protests in their behalf.

Mesosystem-Level Analysis. A mesosystem is defined as the "interrelations among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates" (Bronfenbrenner, p. 26). It is thus a system of microsystems. Bronfenbrenner uses the examples of the interrelations of home, school, and neighborhood peer groups as the mesosystem of a child and the interrelations of work, family, and social settings as the mesosystem of an adult. Here again, my concern is to assess the extent to which the mesosystem in which social studies teachers are embedded is conducive to their professional development. Examined first is the interrelationship of schools, families, and community social settings in which teachers are involved. Then I look at the interrelations of schools and "teacher education settings."

Is there any reason to believe that the first of these mesosystems--the interrelationships among school, family, and community settings--constitutes a powerful context for teacher development? I know of only one piece of research that bears on this question: Dan Lortie's *Schoolteacher* (1975). Lortie found that many older teachers shift energies, time, and interest away from their work in schools to their family and other out-of-school activities because of frustration and weariness. To the extent that this occurs, the mesosystem of school, family, and community is hardly a powerful developmental context. To the contrary, this system works against or at least inhibits professional growth on the part of teachers.

This line of argument, of course, assumes that family and community settings are not in themselves powerful microsystems for the professional development of teachers. Is this assumption valid? In general, probably yes, but there may be noteworthy exceptions. Some families may be powerful contexts for teacher development; for example, families in which both husband and wife or two lovers are highly motivated teachers or families in which a parent who is also a teacher takes a very active interest in the social education of their children and hence makes the family itself a setting for social studies education. All of this is simply speculation, since to my knowledge we do not have any data bearing on this matter.

What is true of families may also be true of community settings for some teachers. For example, a teacher participating in a religious organization that stresses a theology of social justice may be shaped by his or her experience in ways that carry over to his or her social studies teaching in schools. A comparable dynamic may be operating in the case of teachers who are actively involved in leadership roles within youth groups or actively involved in local political parties or citizen action groups. Again, this is speculation in the absence of relevant data.

Let us now turn to a second dimension of the mesosystem in which teachers are embedded--the interrelationship of classroom and "teacher education settings" such as teacher workshops, institutes, and extension courses. How much do these interrelationships contribute to teacher development?

Bronfenbrenner (1979, pp. 209-236) has identified a wide variety of factors that contribute to the development potential of mesosystems. Comparison of the characteristics of many of the most frequently occurring forms of inservice teacher education with Bronfenbrenner's inventory of the features of mesosystems supportive of development reveals very little overlap. Hence, it is not surprising that the authors of the Rand study of change agents observe that "the only consensus that appears to exist about staff development is that what we have now is ineffective and a waste of time. The general feeling is that most staff-development programs have benefited neither teachers or students" (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 70).

The Rand study suggests that staff development activities must recognize five facets of professional learning in order to be effective: (1) teachers possess important clinical expertise; (2) professional learning is an adaptive and heuristic process; (3) professional learning is a long-term nonlinear process; (4) professional learning must be tied to school-site program-building efforts; and (5) professional learning is critically influenced by organizational factors in the school site and in the district (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 91). It seems self-evident that the majority (but not all) teacher-training efforts in the new social studies did not in fact incorporate most, let alone all, of these facets. To the contrary, they exemplified rather well two of the types of development efforts that the Rand study found to be ineffective:

> Staff-development activities undertaken in isolation from teacher's day-to-day responsibilities seldom had much impact (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 88).
>
> It is clear that packaged inservice programs, especially those offered without extensive classroom follow-up and teacher participation, are not likely to be effective (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 93).

In summary, examination of the mesolevel of the ecological environment in which social studies teachers function indicates that it is largely lacking in structural features that contribute to the professional growth or development of teachers.

Exosystem-Level Analysis. An exosystem is defined by Bronfenbrenner as one or more settings in which the developing person is not an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in that setting. For teachers the world of educational governance and politics constitutes such a system. Teachers do not regularly participate in decision making at the level of school district, state, or nation, but they can be affected by the decisions made and the actions taken in such settings as a school board meeting, a state department of education, or the U.S. Department of Education. Thus, one can ask at this level of ecological analysis the same question we posed at the other levels: How conducive is the exosystem to the professional development or growth of teachers?

Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 256) sets forth two hypotheses relevant to this question:

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> The developmental potential of a setting is enhanced to the extent that there exist direct and indirect links to power settings through which participants in the original setting can influence allocation of resources and the making of decisions that are responsive to the needs of the developing person and the efforts of those who act in his behalf.
>
> The developmental potential of a setting varies inversely with the number of intermediate links in the network chain connecting that setting to settings of power.

Assuming the validity of these hypotheses, do the conditions conducive to teacher development prevail within the exosystem in which teachers function? Unfortunately, the findings of the Rand study indicate that they do not. Two of McLaughlin and Marsh's interpretations of these findings are particularly relevant. They suggest first that teacher participation in educational change efforts involving staff development tends to be very limited or restrictive,

> . . . yet, the invitation for teachers to participate in collaborative planning and implementation of significant change has been a mixed message. Teachers were invited to participate without having significant decision-making power and without time being given for them to participate meaningfully. Moreover, school district administrators and colleges often set up a host of bureaucratic regulations that made authentic teacher participation quite difficult (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 91).

Second, they note that this situation probably reflects a widely shared deficit model of teacher development. They characterize this model in this way:

> In general, the deficit model of staff development is characterized by the view of other educators that teachers need staff development because they lack the necessary skills to teach successfully (McLaughlin and Marsh 1978, p. 89).

To summarize is again to reach a disheartening conclusion: At the exosystem level, just as at the meso- and microsystem levels, the ecological environment of teachers is not conducive to professional development and growth. Thus, what is surprising is not that so few teachers have developed in directions espoused by the social studies reform movement, but rather that so many have done so.

Necessary Condition #2: The Culture of the School

I turn now to the second of the two necessary conditions that would have had to exist in order for the new social studies reform movement to have impacted in a widespread and substantial way on the nation's social studies classrooms. This condition can be stated as follows: The philosophy and instructional products produced by the new social studies would have had to be congruent with the culture of schools, or if an initial incongruence existed then the new social studies movement would have had to have been able to modify the culture of schools to fit the demands of the new social studies.

Clearly this condition did not obtain. In retrospect, two things seem very clear. First, the philosophy of the new social studies and the instructional materials and practices that embodied this philosophy were noncongruent or incompatible with the prevailing culture of schools. This point can be better understood by examining the following questions, as is done in the following subsections: Why did the social studies reform movement produce a philosophy and a set of instructional material and practices that were in varying degrees incompatible or noncongruent with the prevailing culture of schools? In what ways was this incompatibility evident?

Second, the social studies reform movement was powerless to effect any substantial kind or degree of change in the prevailing culture of schools. The final subsection of this paper focuses on why the social studies reform movement was not able to change school culture to fit the shape of the new social studies.

Reasons for Incompatibility

Seymour Sarason's (1971) perceptive analysis of the rise and decline of the new math is very instructive in developing an answer to the question of why the social studies reform movement produced a philosophy and a set of instructional materials and practices that were incompatible with the culture of schools. The parallels between the natural history of the new social studies and the new math are striking. First, as in the case of math, the demand for change in social studies education and the diagnoses of why change was needed came out of the culture of univer-

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sities and their associated research and development centers. In both cases the primary stimulus originated not in the phenomenological world of teachers and students but at the macro-level of society. Soviet technological innovation was the stimulus in the case of math (and also the new natural sciences). In the case of social studies, the sources of the demand were more diverse and pluralistic. Some reformers saw traditional social studies as an ineffective vehicle of citizenship education in an era of rapid social change. Others thought that what was happening in math and the natural sciences should be emulated in the social sciences. For both types of reformers there was the stimulus of available federal funding.

Second, in social studies, as in math, there was no substantial clamor coming out of the world of schools. (It is true that several social studies supervisors and curriculum coordinators were associated early with the reform movement, but as Sarason and the case study data used by Project SPAN indicate, these persons, while school personnel, are more often in their values and attitudes a part of the culture of universities than the culture of schools.)

Third, to my knowledge, none of us involved in the early days of the social studies reform movement self-consciously asked ourselves such questions as: Why is the call for social studies reform coming out of the culture of universities but not out of the culture of schools? What is the significance of this sociological fact for the enterprise we are undertaking? Are we, in fact, involved in a process of change in which one culture seeks to impose itself upon another culture that is different and potentially resistant, if not hostile, to such imposition?

Since the complex set of issues encapsulated in questions like these did not rise to the level of consciousness and become items in an agenda of careful and self-conscious deliberation, we took still a fourth step in the footprints that had been laid by the math reform effort. We paid little thought to what schools are like as complex cultural systems, with systemic structures and institutional regularities that might figure in the dramas of curricular change and teacher reeducation. Why did we not do this? It appears to be for the same reason math reformers gave the culture of schools so little thought. We saw the culture of schools to be fundamentally irrelevant to bringing about change in social studies education. We assumed implicitly if not explicitly that the formal curriculum of schools was independent of the culture of schools, and hence change in curriculum and instruction could be achieved independent of any change in the structural characteristics of schools as social and cultural systems. Or, alternately, we assumed implicitly if not explicitly that the culture of schools was so fragile and plastic that it would change easily and painlessly in response to changes in formal curriculum and instructional practices.

I suspect that in most cases we made one or both of these assumptions unwittingly. Moreover, the psychodynamics of our situation probably operated against these matters being raised to a level of conscious reflection since an active consciousness of the most obvious alternative and competitive assumptions might well have paralyzed our reform efforts. That is, had we seen that changing curriculum and instructional practices might be linked to the deep-seated institutional culture of schools in a complex network of powerful and subtle interdependencies, it would have been very easy to become entrapped in a psychology of hopelessness, in which any and all reform efforts are perceived to be bootless or futile.

Whether it was because of parochial vision, inadvertence, or the psychodynamics of repression, we tended to make one or both of the assumptions noted above. Let me illustrate this with two examples from my own work. In 1970, Richard Remy and I were directing a project in political education for the American Political Science Association. We produced a document in which we tried to characterize the dimensions of the potential involvement of the political science profession in educational reform efforts at the precollegiate level. We identified four such dimensions--research, teacher education, curriculum development, and work on the social structure and culture of schools. Note the assumed and unquestioned independence of the latter from both curriculum development and teacher education.

The second case study of my stupidity? my naivete? my inadvertence? my intellectual schizophrenia? centers on my role as designer and general editor of the Houghton Mifflin elementary social studies program, Windows on Our World (Anderson 1976). While writing the rationale for this program and developing its design I was simultaneously reading Philip Jackson's Life in Classrooms (1968). Let me quote a paragraph in which

Jackson begins a discussion of the interrelationship of the formal and informal or hidden curricula in elementary schools:

> If it is useful to think of there being two curriculums in the classroom, a natural question to ask about the relationship between them is whether their joint mastery calls for compatible or contradictory personal qualities. That is, do the same strengths that contribute to intellectual achievement also contribute to the student's success in conformity to institutional expectations? This question likely has no definite answer, but it is thought-provoking and even a brief consideration of it leads into a thicket of educational and psychological issues (Jackson 1968, p. 35).

This paragraph is heavily underlined in my copy of the book, with a notation to stress the point when I was using the Jackson book the following fall in an introductory education course at Northwestern University. It was not until a few years later, when I had spent some time working with teachers who were using Windows, that I came to realize that one source of the difficulties some teachers were experiencing stemmed from the fact that while I had incorporated the notion of the interdependence of the formal and the hidden curricula into my thinking as a scholarly student of schools as social institutions, I had not internalized this fact in my role as a curriculum developer. Hence, Windows was designed on the unverbalized assumptions that the formal curriculum of elementary schools was essentially independent of the culture of elementary schools; or if the two were in fact related, then change in the curriculum would be a potent force leading to change in the culture of schools. A few hours of sustained contact with teachers soon brought these two previously unarticulated assumptions to a conscious level; it took only a few more hours of interaction with teachers for me to realize that both assumptions were clearly wrong.

I cite this bit of autobiography not to indulge my masochistic needs, but rather to illustrate a generalization that I suspect is more or less valid for the social studies reform movement as a whole. We have, for whatever reason, assumed that change in curriculum and instructional practices is independent of change in the culture of schools and/or the two are interdependent in such a way that change in the former will induce change in the latter.

With this in mind, let us return for a moment to the central question dominating this paper. Why in the 1980s is social studies education in schools not dominated by the spirit and substance of the new social studies? Part of the answer lies in the reality of schools. It is objective reality that real change comes hard in schools. Part of the answer also lies within the reformers. The absence of desired change can be traced to a misconceptualized world as much as to a recalcitrant world. Thus, the erroneous assumptions we made about the relation of curriculum and instruction to the culture of schools are as much a part of the stream of history that has created the current state of social studies as are the "objective" realities of the school system. As Sarason observes,

> Teaching any subject matter is in part determined by structural or system characteristics having no instrinsic relationship to the particular subject matter. If this assertion is even partly correct, any attempt to change a curriculum independent of changing some characteristic institutional feature runs the risk of partial or complete failure (Sarason 1971, pp. 35-36).

He wrote this in connection with his effort to account for the history of new math in one particular school system. Quite obviously, his point applies with equal force to the history of social studies reform.

Aspects of Incompatibility

Having discussed why the new social studies movement produced an educational philosophy and a corresponding body of curriculum materials and instructional practices that proved to be in some significant degree incompatible with the prevailing culture of the schools, we now turn to what these points of incompatibility or noncongruence were. I have elected to organize this discussion around a series of assumptions that we social studies reformers explicitly or implicitly made about several aspects of social studies education that now, in hindsight, appear to be incompatible or noncongruent with one or more facets or elements of the culture of schools.

I have categorized these assumptions as assumptions about students, assumptions about teachers, and assumptions about schools and schooling as social institutions. Obviously, these are not mutually exclusive or tightly bounded categories, so there will be some overlap in the discussions.

Assumptions About Students. I begin with students because they are presumably the ultimate target of reform efforts. It is the quality of their educational experiences within social studies classes that we seek to enhance, whether we try to do this by producing new materials, encouraging the use of different instructional practices, educating teachers, developing teacher support systems, or what have you.

What assumptions did social study reformers make about students? Obviously many; here is a partial enumeration of some that I see to be important. There are undoubtedly many others.

Assumption 1: Students are turned off by their social studies education because of one or more attributes of traditional instructional materials and practices. This is a familiar assumption, since most of us have been involved at one time or another in constructing bills of indictment against traditional materials and practices. Here are a few examples of commonly recurring elements of these indictments: information is presented in dull and boring ways rather than in an engaging, exciting manner; the picture of social reality communicated by materials is unrealistic, romantic, inaccurate, and inconsistent with what students know from personal experiences or learn from nonschool sources; materials lack relevance to the existential concerns and problems of children and adolescents. It would be easy to multiply the list several times over, but this is unnecessary since most of us have internalized the indictments of the "old social studies" much as our grandparents internalized a catechism.

Is this assumption about social studies and students true; more accurately, is this assumption congruent with the culture of schools? Many of us hope so, because if it is, available and known solutions are inherent in the definition of the problem. Expose students to better materials (that is, materials free from the vices of traditional materials) and student motivation and interest will increase.

But is there, in fact, a high and consistent correlation between quality of instructional materials and practices and the level of student interest and enthusiasm for studying social studies? The best answer would seem to be that there is a correlation, one that is even statistically significant in some instances, but the correlation is far from perfect, indicating that level of student interest in and enthusiasm for social studies is a function of variables other than the quality of materials and instructional practices.

Obviously, some of these other variables are related to characteristics of students as persons. People vary in their attitudes toward social studies just as they do in their attitudes toward science, math, and literature. More importantly for our analysis here, however, is the fact that the level of student interest and involvement in schoolwork generally, regardless of curriculum area, is determined in large measure by the culture of schools and the students' role in this culture. Looked at from this perspective, the best of the available studies of the culture of schools strongly suggest that the cultures of most schools contain strong structural depressants to high levels of active student involvement in any domain of academic life. Philip Jackson in Life in Classrooms (1968) discusses at length the ecology of withdrawal vs. involvement in elementary school classrooms (see especially pp. 83-112.) Similarly, Philip A. Cusick in Inside High School (1973, p. 217) argues that the social-cultural characteristics of high schools generate a set of unintended characteristics that include "little student involvement in formal activities," more concern on the part of students "with maintenance procedures than with learning," and a tendency for student to "give minimal compliance."

All of this is not to argue that the continuing search for curriculum materials and practices that will motivate, interest, and unlock within students the intrinsic joy of learning is all in vain. The quality of materials is related to levels of positive psychological involvement in the process of schooling, but so are deep structural features in the cultural grammar of schooling on which materials, regardless of quality, have no impact. Thus, as insightful teachers have known for a long time and we are rapidly discovering for ourselves, the culture of the school imposes severe limits on the utility of instructional materials and practices as a key that will unlock a sustained and high level of student psychological involvement in social studies, and for that matter, in any area of the curriculum.

Assumption 2: Students of all ages are capable of learning to perform higher level and more complex intellectual operations than are *encouraged by traditional social studies materials and instruction*. Obviously this is the key assumption underlying the heavy emphasis in much of the new social studies on inquiry, discovery, critical thinking, values clarification, and learning the structure of the social science disciplines. As a hypothesis in the psychology of learning focused upon the cognitive growth potential of an individual student, this assumption is undoubtedly valid. Like many other supportable propositions in the psychology of learning, however, when incarnated into a theory of instruction the validity and usefulness of the theory depends as much (if not more) on the *sociology* of teaching and learning as on the *psychology* of learning.

If it is true that one adult instructing one or even a few students can substantially raise the latter's level of intellectual functioning, it does not logically follow that the same adult instructing 25 to 40 students for a fraction of an hour each day can do the same. Demography affects the sociology of instruction (and of learning) at the group level and the latter in turn affects the psychology of learning at the level of the individual. To put the issue a bit differently, one can say that what is good educational psychology in sociological settings characterized demographically by very sparse populations can become largely useless educational psychology in sociological settings characterized demographically by very dense populations.

The relevance of this line of analysis to the relation of social studies instruction and the culture of schools is probably self-evident. What students are genetically equipped to learn can be very different from what they are sociologically capable of learning within given cultural settings such as classrooms and schools with their particular demographic characteristics.

Unfortunately, the instructional theory undergirding much of the new social studies (as well as reform efforts in other curriculum areas) tended to ignore this fact, or at least assumed an easy, almost automatic translation of the grammar of an individualistically oriented educational psychology of learning into the grammar of the sociology of learning and instruction in a demographically dense and complex setting. As a consequence, much of the instructional theory underlying the new social studies (like the new math and the new natural sciences) was alien to the culture of schools. Sarason puts the point very well:

> Any theory of instruction that does not confront the reality that a teacher does not instruct a child but a group of children is not worth very much to teachers at least. Even where a teacher intends to instruct a particular child, it takes place psychologically (for the child, teacher, and other children) in the context of being a part of a larger group and set of relationships (Sarason 1971, p. 179).

Assumptions About Teachers. Of the numerous assumptions that social studies reformers tended to make about teachers, I single out a few for special attention, since each in a different way is relevant to the implications one might see in the dominating proposition coming out of the data analyzed by Project SPAN--the teacher is the key to quality of life and learning in classrooms.

Assumption 1: The characteristics of teachers, as individuals, are the predominant determinants of how teachers behave as teachers in school systems. The image of the teacher acting as an individual, uninfluenced by the context of the classroom, the school, and the school system, pervaded a good deal of social studies thinking. This image was obviously grounded in the hope that the following prevailed: (1) what teachers do in classrooms is a function of the characteristics they bring to classrooms; (2) some of the most pedagogically important characteristics of teachers are changeable through education; (3) the quality of learning in classrooms can therefore be upgraded by upgrading the quality of teacher education at both the pre- and inservice stages.

While not entirely wrong, this conception of teachers is excessively simplistic or naive from a sociological standpoint. Schools and classrooms are powerful social contexts in shaping the characteristics teachers evidence in classrooms. As Sarason (1971, p. 171) correctly notes, "the characteristics of individuals are always, to some extent, a reflection of the setting in which these characteristics are manifest." Thus, efforts to change what happens in classrooms by changing individual teachers but leaving the culture of schools and classrooms unchanged can be successful, but only partially successful, even under the most favorable conditions--that is, when individual teachers are highly motivated and capable learners and those who teach them are equally motivated and capable instructors.

Assumption 2: Teachers (like the reformers who produce new approaches and materials) experience their jobs as challenging, intel-

lectually stimulating, and socially rewarding. The social studies reformers on the whole experienced their work as exciting, socially rewarding, intellectually challenging, and infused with a sense of mission and challenge. Some of us naively assumed that the phenomenology of the teacher's work-a-day world was the same as ours. Thus we implicitly reasoned that since teachers experience teaching as an intellectually challenging and emotionally gratifying activity, they will seize upon new materials and practices because these will make the job of teaching even more exciting and interesting. Clearly this assumption and the implication we drew from it were true for some teachers; it was precisely this small minority of teachers that we were most likely to personally encounter. Thus, the validity of our initial assumption was empirically verified, but verified erroneously because of the atypical characteristics of the sample of teachers we knew best.

The best research on the culture of schools clearly suggests that given several structural regularities of school culture, the phenomenological world of most teachers is not filled with excitement, enthusiasm, and the joy of continuous intellectual, social, and professional growth. I noted earlier Dan Lortie's observation that many experienced teachers find their work to be unfulfilling and turn an increasing share of their energies and concerns toward family and other nonschool activities. Sarason (1971, pp. 164-165) reached a similar conclusion after asking a large number of teachers how exciting or stimulating they found their work.

How does this situation come about? The causes are undoubtedly many; the personality of the individuals who go into teaching as a career is without question the least important of these. The important causes are to be found in the culture of schools. The short career ladder characteristic of the teaching profession, the psychological isolation of teachers from other adults, and perhaps above all else, the routinization of activity day-in-and-day-out for weeks, months, and years on end leave their heavy imprint on the phenomenology of teachers. Most human beings are highly adaptable creatures, and a psychology of boredom is functionally a very adaptable response to an environment that is largely barren of sources of intellectual excitement and growth.

The implications of this are depressing, as Sarason notes with sadness:

> . . . if teaching becomes neither terribly interesting nor exciting to many teachers, can one expect them to make learning interesting or exciting to children? If teaching becomes a routine, predictable experience, does this not have inevitable consequences for life in the classroom? The modal classroom does not allow me other than to conclude that children and teachers show most of the efforts of routinized thinking and living. It would be strange if it were otherwise (Sarason 1971, pp. 166-167).

Assumption 3: Teachers spend their time in school teaching and students spend their time learning. Teaching and learning go on even in the worst of schools, but even in the best of schools teaching and learning are but one level of an ecologically complex sociocultural system. The NSF case study data reaffirm and vividly illustrate what much other research on the sociology of schools shows; at best, teaching and learning continuously compete for front and center stage with the multitude of other diverse human activities that make up a school day--maintaining bureaucratic routines; constantly recreating civic and political order in classroom, hallways, playgrounds, and lunch rooms; judging guilt and innocence; dispensing punishment and granting merits; making, giving, and grading tests; ministering to the distraught; checking one's anger, rationalizing one's mistakes, coping with one's frustration--these are but a few of the sociopsychological activities that make up a teacher's day.

What is the status of teaching in this complex ecology of activity? Several conclusions seem warranted. First, even in the most benign of settings, teaching *per se* is but one of many activities in which teachers must engage. Thus, to build curriculum on the assumption that a teacher directs 100 percent, or even 90 or 80 or 70 percent of time and energy to the teaching act as such is to be unrealistic about the culture of schools.

Second, the relative importance of the teaching act in the ecology of classrooms and schools varies from school to school and from classroom to classroom within schools, as well as from grade level to grade level within school systems. I suspect that a primary source of variance along all of these dimensions is the relative amount of time teachers must devote to the political facet of their role; that is, to the creation and maintenance of civic and political order in which the process of socializing individuals into the role of "student" in the culture of schooling is one important aspect.

My hypothesis is a simple one. The greater the amount of time devoted to the creation and maintenance of civic and political order in the society of classroom and school, the less the amount of time devoted to the teaching act as such. My second hypothesis is this: The greater the amount of time teachers can devote to the teaching act, the more likely they are to know of and make use of the new social studies materials and practices. Assuming the validity of this hypothesis as well as the first, one has a simple theory predicting that: (1) the new social studies movement has had more impact on high schools than on elementary schools, and within elementary grades it has had more impact upon middle grades than primary grades, (2) the new social studies movement has had more impact upon suburban schools than urban and particularly inner-city schools, (3) the new social studies movement has had more impact upon classrooms whose teachers have a history of maintaining a high level of benign order than upon classrooms whose teachers have a history of a high level of disorder, (4) among classrooms with comparable histories of order, the new social studies movement has had more impact upon classrooms in which order is a constitutionally established fact than on classrooms in which order must be continuously recreated, and (5) among classrooms with equally high degrees of constitutionally established order, the new social studies movement has had more impact on classrooms in which order is more a product of mutual trust and respect between students and teacher than in classrooms in which order is a product of authoritarian rule and strict discipline.

Third, it appears that the teaching act is subordinate to at least two other activities. One is socializing individuals into the role of "student" as defined by the culture of schools--a matter closely related to the task of creating and recreating civic and political order. The other is the evaluation and hence the sorting of students. The subordination of the teaching act to both of these activities is clearly visible in the NSF case study data.

Instructional materials, practices, and subject matter itself are seen and used by teachers as important instruments of social control and, closely related, as a means of socializing students into the culture of schooling. In summarizing the NSF case studies, Stake and Easley conclude

> What has been said in this chapter is that it became clear from some of our case studies, some classroom observations by site visitors, some responses to questionnaires, and from tape recordings of site visitor interviews with teachers, that the responsibilities (for which most teachers felt very strongly) regarding the management of the class and the development of study habits and individual personal character were not to be taught just prior to or independent of the subject matter. They were to be an integral part of all the reading. . . . Teachers used the curriculum material selected for academic goals for the socialization of pupils . . . (Stake and Easley 1978, 16:56).

Making the same point elsewhere they note

> Putting it in a nutshell, most teachers seemed to treat subject matter knowledge as evidence of, and subject materials as a means to, the socialization of the individual in school. On the other hand, most subject matter specialists treated socialization as a necessary evil to be gotten out of the way early--for it is only a means to the greater end of subject matter knowledge. Socialized discipline was the lingua franca, or "medium of exchange," within the school, transcending subject matter barriers. There was also a socialization within each discipline but only for the talented, college-bound students (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:24).

They further observe

> Such socialization in the classroom was pre-emptive in that it seemed to get immediate attention almost whenever an opportunity arose. Other learnings were interrupted or set aside, not always by choice, to take care of: an effort to cheat, an impending daydream, or a willingness to accept a grossly mistaken answer. One OHIO observer commented that socialization takes precedence over general study skills, general study skills over the specific operations (arithmetic, the chemistry lab), and the specific operations over subject matter (Stake and Easley 1978, p. 16:25).

Also, the case study data strongly suggest that the teaching act is subordinate to the testing act, in the sense that much of instruction is geared to imparting information whose major significance or importance for both teacher and student derives from the fact that it is information on which students will be tested later. I will return later to look from a different angle at both of these facets of the subordination of teaching.

In summary, it seems that much of the new social studies was premised on the assumption that teaching about history, geography, civics, economics, sociology, social problems, families, communities, etc. was at the heart of the teacher's job. Clearly this was a serious misreading of the culture of schools. Not only does the culture of schools fragment the teacher's job into a multitude of activities of which the teaching act is but one, this cultural system also transforms the teaching act from an end to be pursued for its intrinsic worth into an instrumental means in the continuing struggle to maintain order, to socialize persons into the culturally defined role of student, and to evaluate, grade, and sort students into the good, the mediocre, and the poor. Given these very strong forces within the culture of schools, it is obvious why most teachers evaluate the worth of instructional materials and practices in terms of their utility as instruments in the maintenance of order, as means in the socialization of children and youth into the "student role," and as mechanisms of differentiating students, as much as they judge them in terms of their "scholarly content" or "pedagogic usefulness."

To make this point concrete, permit me to relate a personal experience once again. Before designing Windows on Our World I must have read a dozen or more studies of elementary schools that pointed out that about 30 percent of elementary students' time is spent in "seat work." This statistic struck me as a mildly interesting fact about the sociology of elementary schools, but I saw no particular practical import in it until I began to associate with teachers using Windows. Then time after time I heard the complaint (which I did not understand at first) that this program does not provide for enough "seat work." Once I finally comprehended the problem, I naively asked: Why is seat work so important for first, second, third, etc. graders? The answer to this question I finally learned is obvious. Given the culture of the elementary school, "seat work" is important because (1) it provides me (the teacher) with a means of controlling the behavior of students while I am doing something else, e.g., grading papers and planning for tomorrow, and (2) it provides students with the experience of working on their own and thus prepares them for what they must do next year and the year after next and so on--in short, it socializes them into the role of student.

Assumption 4: There is sufficient time in the teacher's work day for him or her to frequently engage students in the acts of inquiry, discovery, critical analysis, etc. Moreover, teachers will be motivated to engage in such instructional activities because they are intellectually rewarding to student and teacher alike. Two errors about the culture of schools seem to be inherent in this assumption. One is that the work-a-day world of teacher and student has ample space in which to fit the sociointellectual activities championed by the new social studies. The second is that teachers and students are free to shape their teaching and learning to matters that they find to be intellectually rewarding. Neither of these conditions widely prevail in the culture of most schools, as the NSF case study data show. Perhaps the reality of the situation in schools is best summarized in a poignant observation of Jack Easley about his own teaching experience as a university science teacher:

> When I'm working in the Sciences Tutoring Laboratory, I'm just teaching techniques and vocabulary and not the broad view of science I want to share. I'm "hammering it in" because I can see that those things are going to be necessary for my students to succeed in the courses they are taking. So, as I relate to each student as an individual, I think of what he personally needs right now. When I sit back in my arm chair and become a "philosopher" of science, I wish that all students could have the experience of philosophizing about science and mathematics. But neither they nor I are going to push that when there's an exam in two weeks on three chapters of chemistry (Stake and Easley 1978, 16:22).

All of us who teach at the university level experience the tension between the joys of education and the demands of schooling of which Easley writes. Moreover, most of the time this tension is resolved, as it was in Easley's case, with the demands of schooling taking precedence over the job of education. Countless teachers in elementary and secondary schools also experience this tension, resolving it as we do in favor of the demands of schooling.

Why this should be the case is a matter that I shall explore in more depth when I discuss schools and schooling as institutions. Here let me simply note that the tension between education and schooling, as well as its resolution in favor of schooling, seems almost inevitable given the way "student" is defined in the culture of schools. Given the position of a child or a young person in the culture of schools, both teachers and students tend to subscribe to some version of the following beliefs:

> A. Extrinsic motivation of students in some form is essential if students are to pay attention to their school work. Teachers should do what they can to motivate students, but many factors in the personal make-up and home situations of some students make motivation in academic subjects impossible.
>
> B. Attention to directions, to the formulation of questions, and to any presentations by teachers, textbooks, films, or other means is essential for academic learning. Teachers must help students keep attending to their tasks.
>
> C. Students will learn most reliably when they are successful in carrying out assignments properly. Good study habits, note taking, and homework are important. If homework cannot be done outside of class for various reasons, then teachers should provide time for it in school. Teachers should demand that work be handed in regularly.
>
> D. Frequent testing of one kind or another . . . is important to make certain that the students have learned what they are supposed to do. If they do poorly on tests, they should be encouraged to work harder on their preparation (Stake and Easley 1978, 16:21-22).

Assumptions About Schools and Schooling. I think it is fair to say that for the most part the new social studies movement proceeded in the absence of any well-developed or explicit theory or conception of the sociology of schools and of schooling. In the absence of such theory, reformers acted upon a number of implicit, unarticulated assumptions about schools and schooling as social institutions that have proven to be erroneous. I have tried to identify several of these and discuss them briefly in the next few pages. Of these assumptions I suspect the last assumption I discuss may well be the single most important.

Assumption 1: Schools are boxes or containers in social space from which old content can be extracted and new content put in via one or more reasonably simple technologically oriented delivery systems. Inherent in this assumption are at least two misconceptions. One is the failure to recognize that schools are complex social systems whose structural and behavioral regularities determine in large measure the behavior of the individuals who occupy roles in these systems.

A second erroneous image relates to the nature of change within schools. Change tended to be perceived as primarily a technological process. Specifically, schools were viewed as being actually or potentially terminal points in a technological process of reasearch, development, and dissemination. The major challenge of bringing about change from this perspective is to expand and extend this process to incorporate more and more schools. There was little recognition that the process of diffusing innovations generated in one cultural setting, namely universities, to another cultural setting, namely schools, is both a process in cross-cultural communication and a political process. These important facts were not recognized, I suspect, for one primary reason. We reformers operated out of one or more versions of a liberal consensual view of society. We presumed that the values of teachers, administrators, parents, and social studies professionals were basically shared and common. Hence, we assumed that all parties involved in the process of bringing about change in social studies education valued the same kind of knowledge, whether that was knowledge of the social science disciplines or knowledge about society that we believed important in the exercise of effective and responsible citizenship.

The consensual and essentially apolitical image of schools, schooling, and knowledge seems incongruent with reality. To begin with, the Illinois case study data, combined with other research, suggest that it is an oversimplification to speak of the culture of schools as if schools had a single, monolithic, unifying culture. The data suggest that we can more accurately see schools to be social systems in which at least three subcultures coexist in a relationship of considerable tension, mutual hostility, and frequent conflict. The three subcultures are the culture of teachers, the culture of school administrators, and the culture of students. Second, there is little overlap between the culture of schools and the culture of universities, from which the social studies reformers operated. Thus, it would seem to be more accurate to view the cultural world into which reformers sought to bring change in social studies as a culturally conflictual world rather than a culturally consensual one.

Assumption 2: Schools are learning communities in which social studies instruction suffers from defects that derive from mindlessness and/or cultural lag. It is fair, I believe, to say that implicitly if not explicitly many social studies reformers subscribed to the liberal diagnosis of what ails the schools that Charles Silberman popularized by his *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education*. In the most-quoted passage of this book, Silberman argues that the grimness, joylessness, and oppression characteristic of many schools need not be:

> Public schools *can* be organized to facilitate joy in learning and esthetic expression and to develop character--in the rural and urban slums no less than in the prosperous suburbs. This is no utopian hope. . . .
>
> What makes change possible . . . is that what is mostly wrong with public schools is due not to venality or indifference or stupidity, but to mindlessness. To be sure, teaching has its share of sadists and clods, of insecure and angry men and women who hate their students for their openness, their exuberance, their color, or their affluence. But by and large, teachers, principals, and superintendents are decent, intelligent, and caring people who try to do their best by their lights. If they make a botch of it, and an uncomfortably large number do, it is because it simply never occurs to more than a handful to ask *why* they are doing what they are doing--to think seriously or deeply about the purposes or consequences of education (Silberman 1970, pp. 10-11).

It would appear that many social studies reformers subscribed to a Silberman-like diagnosis of what was wrong with traditional social studies. Social studies education was bad because it was carried out in a mindless way. If opportunities could be arranged in preservice education programs and in inservice education programs for teachers to ponder the purposes that social studies should serve in the lives of schools and students, social studies instruction would undergo a fundamental transformation. The sociopsychological theory implicit in this hope seems to have been a very simple one. What teachers do is determined either by tradition or by a consciousness of the purposes to be achieved. Thus, if teachers could be taught to think seriously about the purposes of social studies, they would escape from the prison of tradition and go on to change in ways that better promote the realization of their purposes.

Such a view of teachers and change in teaching is incomplete in a number of ways. Let me simply note two of its most obvious and serious defects. One, it is an excessively psychological theory of human behavior in that it fails to acknowledge that the social context in which teachers work channels and constrains their behavior. Two, it assumes that if teachers self-consciously philosophize about the purposes of social studies education, they will see these purposes to be the same as those social studies reformers espouse. Given all that I have said up to this point about the culture of schools, I see no reason to believe that the philosophizing of teachers and professional reformers will necessarily converge.

If some social studies reformers perceived schools to be institutions where unwitting reproduction of tradition created a state of mindlessness, still other reformers saw schools as institutions suffering from a bad case of cultural lag as far as social studies education was concerned. Two related but distinguishable versions of this diagnosis pervade much of the reform literature. The "disciplinary" perspective saw social studies in the schools lagging behind advances in social science scholarship. The "citizenship" perspective saw social studies in schools lagging behind the new demands of citizenship created by extensive and rapid social change. In both versions, the educational problem was defined as closing a gap between what schools currently do and what they should be doing in the area of social studies instruction. The implications for reform flowing from this "gap" theory were threefold: (1) create new instructional materials and practices that fill the gap, (2) call school people's attention to the existence of a gap and the availability of resources to fill the gap, and (3) school people would seize upon the new resources with gusto. Obviously, this link of events did not take place on any extensive scale. Clearly, one of the basic reasons why it did not was because the "gap" that was perceived to exist from perspectives grounded in the culture of universities was not perceived to exist when viewed from vantage points grounded in the culture of schools.

Assumption 3: Schooling is an instruction that serves three primary and compatible functions--the promotion of social equality, the promotion of individual self-development, and the integration of students into

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society. This seems to be the key premise underlying most liberal education reform efforts, including efforts to reform social studies in schools. Many students of schooling, including Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Rosenbaum (1976), have seriously questioned the validity of this premise. Specifically, they have questioned the assumed compatibility of the equalizing, developmental, and integrative functions of schooling. What if these critics are correct and these three societal functions of schooling are in fact not compatible? Does this fact about the culture of schooling help explain the fate of the new social studies in schools? I think that it does.

As Bowles and Gintis argue, the integrative function of schooling is the predominant function. Schools are primarily people-processing institutions that seek to integrate individuals into the political economy of the society. The society into which students are integrated is characterized by extensive social stratification. Given this fact schools serve, as Jencks (1972, p. 135) argues, "primarily as selection and certification agencies, whose job is to measure and to label people, and second only as socialization agencies, whose job is to change people." Following this line of analysis it seems very likely that the process of sorting and labeling students is the dominating process within schools to which all other activities are more or less subordinate; that is, activities acquire significance to the extent that they serve as means or mechanisms in the process of sorting and labeling students.

If this is true, it explains a great deal of the findings emerging from the data used by Project SPAN. To begin with, it explains the dominant role that socializing activities play in the culture of schools. To socialize students into the culture of schools and specifically into the role of student is to socialize them into a system in which students are stratified by grades, by class rank, and by track. Thus, formal as well as informal sorting and labeling of students dominate the teacher's job. For this reason, as the case study data indicate, instructional materials and practices as well as subject matter itself become mechanisms for the process of socialization. Materials, practices, and subject matter are functional within the culture of schools to the extent that they are useful in the process of sorting and labeling students and conversely dysfunctional to the extent that they complicate this process.

Thus, teaching organized around a single textbook is functional because it presents students with a set of undifferentiated tasks to be completed by all, making the task of sorting and labeling students much easier than it would be if students worked on differentiated tasks. "Objective tests" calling for the recall of information provide a systematic procedure for identifying winners, losers, and runners-up in the academic contest; this procedure is much more easily applied to a classroom of 30 to 40 students than a more "subjective" type of evaluation of students' creative, analytical, or other such capacities. Scrupski, citing statistics on the usage of classroom time, notes that

> The teacher in the Adams and Biddle study was a principal actor 84 percent of the time and an audience (for, say, student-student colloquy or argumentation) only 7 percent of the time. Most of the students are watching the teacher's performance and awaiting an opportunity to participate. Information dissemination, primarily on the part of the teacher, accounted for 65 percent of classroom time with only 20 percent spent on intellectualization (reasoning, opining, deducing, etc.), testifying, it seems, to the significance of the evaluation process, wherein the requisite quantification and stratification of performance may more easily be based on information retention and regurgitation than on the process of reasoning, inference, deduction, etc. (Scrupski 1975, p. 151).

In conclusion, much of the new social studies rested on the assumption that the equalizing, developmental, and integrative functions of schooling were compatible or at least independent of one another. This clearly does not seem to be the case. The integrative function is dominant. Given the fact that students are being integrated into a socially stratified society, the dominance of the integrative function leads to a school culture in which the sorting and labeling of students is a predominating activity. Instructional materials, practices, and subject matter that facilitate the sorting and labeling process are valued. Materials, practices, and subject matter that are experienced as circumventing or complicating this process are not valued. Many features of the new social studies did, in fact, complicate this process because they were designed primarily to foster student intellectual growth and only secondly as instruments in the sorting and labeling of students.

This line of argument also helps explain the heavy emphasis placed upon reading by many teachers and their attraction to "back to the basics." If the culture of schooling makes sorting the control task of schools and if students are to be sorted basically on their ability to manipulate symbol systems, then obviously the teaching and learning of reading becomes critical to the teaching act because reading is critical to the testing act. Teachers judge themselves, and parents and others also judge them, in terms of how well students do in the "reading game."

Reasons Why the Culture of Schools Was Not Changed

Much about the inertia of the American school system can be inferred from the preceding discussion. Much more analysis would be required for a full understanding of this phenomenon; only some brief comments are appended here.

Despite initial incompatibility between the demands of the social studies reformers and the culture of schools, the reform movement would have nevertheless succeeded had it been able to effect change in the culture of schools. Why was this the case? Why, in short, was the culture of schools so resistant to the changes implicit in the new social studies reform movement?

The beginning of an answer is to be found in the NSF case study data, which highlight the fact that teachers live in two sociocultural systems. One is the system of the school and the other is the system of scholarship. Teachers "belong to both systems but they are much less at the mercy of the scholarship system. Scientists and other intelligentsia have little effect; parents and other teachers have much. What teacher do with subject matter . . . is determined by how it sustains and protects them in the social system [of the schools]" (Stake and Easley 1978, 16:23).

If this is the case, then one must ask: From where do the powerful institutional demands of the school derive? The sociology of education literature suggest two answers. Perhaps the schools' powerful hold on teachers derives from the internal characteristics of schools as organizations and has little to do with the alleged social functions of schools. If this is the case, then the behavior of teachers and hence the learning of students are changeable if schools as organizations can be changed. On the other hand, it is possible that the schools' powerful hold upon teachers relates directly to the functions that schools and schooling perform in the political economy of the society. For example, what teachers do and do not do may be determined in large measure by the fact that they are in the sorting and credentialing business within a society stratified by class, race, and sex. If this is true, then changes in the organizational structure of schools per se will have little impact upon the realities of day-to-day life within schools. Substantial educational change is thus dependent upon substantial social change in the larger society of which schools are a part.

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